

20·9·20

Levy

Carl Levy Gramsci and the Anarchists

Gramsci and the Anarchists



Carl Levy Gramsci and the Anarchists



This is the first work in English to deal comprehensively with Italian anarchism from the beginning of the century to the rise of fascism. It reconstructs the development of anarchist and syndicalist ideas and programmes and charts their relations with Gramsci and the Turin-based Ordine Nuovo group. The book places these developments within the general context of little known links connecting Italian anarchists and syndicalists to sympathizers in Britain, France, Germany and Russia. The analysis of libertarian politics in Italy is accompanied by a detailed and fascinating reconstruction of the social base of Italian anarchism that challenges the assumptions of much of the political sociology of the European Left.

Developing a hitherto unexplored but important aspect of Gramsci's political ideas and strategies, this book contributes to our understanding of one of the central Marxist thinkers and activists of the twentieth century and to one of the critical moments in the history of the European Left. In bringing new life and understanding to an important chapter in contemporary Italian history, this book is likely to become a standard text on this pivotal thinker.

'Levy has written a major and important study [...] likely to become a standard reference text.'

John Davis, *University of Connecticut*

Carl Levy, *Department of Social Policy and Politics, Goldsmiths College, University of London*

ISBN 1 85973 984 0

Jacket design: Wilson Harvey Limited



ISBN 1-85973-984-9

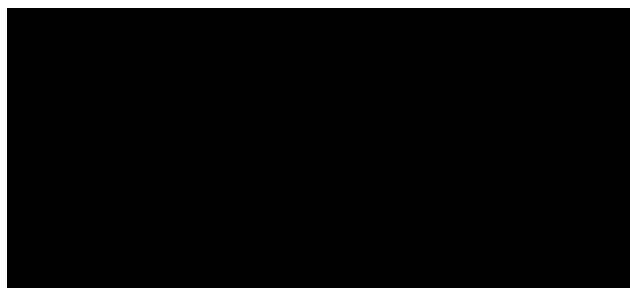


9 781859 739846

ROUTLEDGE TAYLOR & FRANCIS

Gramsci and the Anarchists

Carl Levy



Oxford • New York

First published in 1999 by
Berg
Editorial offices:
150 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JJ, UK
70 Washington Square South, New York NY 10012, USA

© Carl Levy 1999

All rights reserved.
No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form
or by any means without the written permission of Berg.

Berg is the imprint of Oxford International Publishers Ltd.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 1 85973 984 9 (Hardback)

Typeset by JS Typesetting, Wellingborough, Northants.
Printed in the United Kingdom by WBC Book Manufacturers, Bridgend,
Mid Glamorgan.

To the memory of James Joll

Contents

Acknowledgements	viii
List of Maps	ix
List of Figures	x
List of Tables	xi
Abbreviations	xii
1 The Italian Anarchists, 1870–1914	1
2 Torinese Anarchism, 1870–1914	19
3 Gramsci's Apprenticeship and the War Years	63
4 The Anarchists in Turin during the <i>biennio rosso</i>	119
5 Productivism and Anti-Jacobinism	177
6 Conclusion	221
Bibliography	241
Index	265

Acknowledgements

Many individuals have helped me in the course of this book. I would particularly like to recall Sergio Caprioglio, David Goodway, Elias Berg, Maurizio Antonioli, Marco Revelli, Jonathan Zeitlin, Chris Rootes and Wolfgang Mommsen. The staffs of the International Institute for Social History (Amsterdam), Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek (Stockholm), Istituto Gramsci (Rome) and the State Archives of Bologna, Milan, Rome and Turin supplied invaluable material and were always extremely pleasant. I would like to thank Stephen Conlin for drawing the two maps of Turin and the Department of Social Policy and Politics at Goldsmiths College for subsidizing their cost.

Heartfelt thanks and love to Katrin, Martin and Sasha.

List of Maps

1.1	Geography of Italian anarchism, 1891–8	7
1.2	Distribution of the anarchist press in Italy, 1900–14	8
2.1	Turin: 1914	26
3.1	Turin: <i>I Fatti di Agosto</i> (22–26 August 1917)	93
4.1	Insurrectionary areas and anarchist predominance in Italy, 1914–20	122

List of Figures

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| 2.1 | First Issue of <i>La Scuola Moderna</i> , journal of the Ferrer School | 40 |
|-----|--|----|

List of Tables

2.1	Fiom Membership (Turin and Province): 1900-14	29
2.2	Turin Chamber of Labour Membership: 1900-14	29
4.1	Anarchism and Syndicalism in <i>L'Ordine Nuovo</i>	143
5.1	The Mosso Plan	186

Abbreviations

ACS CPC	Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Casellario Politico Centrale, Rome.
ACS PS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione generale di Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati, Rome.
ASM	Archivio di Stato di Milano, Fondo Prefettura, Gabinetto.
AST	Archivio di Stato di Torino.
IISH	International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

The Italian Anarchists, 1870–1914

The anarchists . . . carry out . . . the useful function of making the so-called 'constitutional socialists' possible, acceptable, almost not unpleasant for the bourgeoisie. It was a service we rendered to the republicans and today the anarchists render to us. Already for some time public prosecutors in front of juries have fought against the workers parties citing, even if it is rubbish, the 'great' Mazzini; tomorrow against the anarchists they will cite Karl Marx and the workers parties. It would not surprise me if during a trial of this kind the prosecutors might brandish some issue of *Critica Sociale* as the example of the 'just limits' up to which it was proper for socialist propaganda to proceed.

Filippo Turati, 'Gli Anarchici' *Critica Sociale*

Fifty years ago there was no such thing as an 'Italian people' — it was just a rhetorical expression. There was no social unity in Italy then; there was only a geographical unity. There were just millions of individuals scattered throughout Italian territory, each leading his own life, each rooted in his own soil, knowing nothing of Italy, speaking only his own dialect, and believing the whole world to be circumscribed by his parish boundary. He knew the tax collector, he knew the policeman, he knew the magistrate, the Court of Assizes, and that for him, was Italy . . .

Italy had become a political unity, because a part of its population has united around an idea, a single programme. And socialism, socialism alone, was able to provide this idea and this programme.

Antonio Gramsci 'Il Socialismo e l'Italia' *Il Grido del Popolo*

If the anarchists are not careful, their enemies will write their history.

Gaetano Salvemini, as quoted in V. Mantovani, *Mazurka Blu. La strage del Diana*

The history of Italian anarchism from its origins in the aftermath of the *Risorgimento*, to its virtual destruction by fascism, has never received the attention it deserves. I shall not attempt such an ambitious project here. I would like to answer a question rarely posed in Italian labour history:

why and how did the anarchist movement survive as a vital part of the Italian socialist and labour movements until the 1920s?

The prophetic words of Gaetano Salvemini quoted at the beginning of this chapter have been more or less fulfilled. Historiography concerning Italian anarchism has been left mostly to its enemies, and it has only been in the last twenty-five years, with the development of a less dogmatic dialogue between components of the Italian left, that a more balanced account of the movement has been produced.¹ Indeed, one might say that for a long time the anarchist movement had suffered an even harsher fate than Salvemini had predicted for it. It had quite simply been forgotten, relegated to a few footnotes generally concerning 'human colour'. It was treated as a strange cult, an interesting example of Italian plebeian culture, but hardly deserving close scrutiny.²

Two generations of socialists, both Turati's and Gramsci's, could not avoid the anarchist tendency that coloured the behaviour of many socialists. And to a certain degree the young Gramsci and the great reformist identified the libertarian tradition as one of the pathological symptoms of the ill-fated post-*Risorgimento* state. If Turati embodied the Italian version of Second Internationalist socialism, while Gramsci's political career was motivated by a desire to criticize and transcend this tradition, both remained locked within the magic circle of Italian problems and Italian obsessions. Both yearned for a modern society identified as an advanced capitalist democracy, whose institutions and culture would prepare the way for socialism. Liberal Italy, they believed, was plagued with grave problems. Italy, they thought, was a ragbag of regions, governed by a political elite, hardly representative of the wishes of the vast majority of the Italian population. The Italian parliament was only a parody of its counterparts in northern Europe. Instead of a clearly defined party system, there existed associations of clientele, where personality and sectional interest seemed more crucial than modern mass parties representing class or a coalition of class interests. In both men's political rhetoric Italy is pictured as a country prey to chaotic rioting, perpetual scandal and political adventurers. Each, in his own way, hoped that capitalism would not only destroy the Chinese wall of the feudal south, but lay the groundwork for a modern sense of politics. The Italian people, they felt, lacked a 'state spirit'; capitalism would wrench Italy and the Italians into the twentieth century.³

There was, however, a crucial difference between these two very diverse political animals. This difference centred on time. How long would one have to wait for capitalism to effect its changes? For Turati history progressed steadily and surely through the *piccole cose* of reformism. For

Gramsci, world war and imperialism had proven that a revolution could be made against this reformist interpretation of the Marxist dialectic.

For Turati, socialism and parliamentary democracy were virtually synonymous. For Gramsci socialism's heart and soul were located in the modern factory, in the proletarian community of producers. Turati and Gramsci – to use a felicitous Italian phrase – were *fratelli-nemici* (brother enemies). For both, socialism followed in the footsteps of capitalist modernization. Gramsci's identification of socialism's vanguard in the factory proletariat of the most advanced northern industries was probably considered too 'workerist' for Turati, but both men cut their teeth in socialist movements that, with their associations with a modern industrial working class, were unusual in Italy. It is well known that Gramsci did attempt to widen socialism's base. An Italian revolution could not be carried out without the support of the southern peasantry, and throughout his career he pressed for such a strategy, but if he had gained a sensitivity for southern problems, he never demoted the northern factory proletariat from its vanguard role.

As a Sardinian intellectual, sensitive to the injuries that his own island had suffered in Liberal Italy, Gramsci has been pictured as one of the few Western Marxists to develop a coherent agrarian policy. In fact, like many other southern intellectuals, he yearned to industrialize his native rural society. The peasantry, and even the proletarianized peasants of the Po Valley who composed the majority of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), prevented the emergence of modern socialist politics. He wanted the peasants to abandon their folkloric vision of the world which he defined as *senso comune*, for a scientific outlook – *senso buono*. The revolutionary northern proletariat would break the chains of peasant backwardness by unleashing the productive powers of capitalism for the full advantage of the Italian people. The peasantry, and those elements of the factory proletariat who were still under its influence, however, were deemed contaminated by an earlier unscientific socialist tradition. They could not escape from the vicious circle of riot and apathy that Gramsci called *sovversivismo*.

Both Turati and Gramsci fought a never-ending battle against 'subversive' socialism, but the comparison ends here. Gramsci's early Marxism was influenced by various libertarian examples, and he even ended up being confounded with anarchist and syndicalist heresies; Turati's valiant defence of the anarchists, on the other hand, was more the inspired oratory of a civil libertarian who defended the rights of those on his left because of general principles. In Turati's mind, after the defeat of the authoritarian threat in the 1890s, the anarchists and syndicalists were simply primitives,

indeed 'stone age socialists'. Gramsci's relationship with them was more tortured and complex, for, as he created a distinctly libertarian form of Marxism during the First World War, he entered into a working friendship with a remarkable group of Torinese anarchists. As his council communism emerged in the *biennio rosso* (the Red Biennium, 1919–20) it bore the hallmarks of the anarchist and syndicalist heritage. My aim in this introductory chapter is to shed some light on the evolution of the Italian libertarian movement before the *biennio rosso*, to introduce Gramsci's other *fratello-nemico*.

The vitality of anarchism, and a more generic anti-statist tradition that characterized Italian Second Internationalist socialism, can be explained by examining three major themes: the contours of anarchism's history, the peculiarities of the PSI, and the evolution of the Italian labour movement in its prewar formative period.

By 1914 antistatism in its purest form had become overwhelmed by an electorally oriented socialist party. The anarchists remained a weaker party; paradoxically, however, their values retained strong support at the grass roots. Anarchism's symbols and its heritage dominated mainstream Italian socialist culture. Unfortunately the dearth, until recently, of serious studies concerning Italian socialism as a popular culture have obscured this curious fact. Although this is a problem of great interest in itself, I can only present the reader with a broad outline of a popular socialism that can best be defined as the 'second culture'. By this I mean a network of institutions bound together by sentiments of localism, antistatism and 'operaismo' (workerism). It collided repeatedly with the Italian state and during serious crises even with the more centralized institutions of the labour and socialist movements. The chamber of labour, the new geographically isolated northern industrial suburb, the agrotowns of Apulia and Emilia, and the company towns of Liguria, Tuscany and Umbria, all accommodated, to varying degrees, a 'second culture'. Its values affected Gramsci's Marxism in negative and positive ways. Gramsci's council communism did not merely spring from the crucible of the World War and its revolutionary aftermath. The ideas of self-management and an autonomous working-class culture, so prominent in the Gramsci of the *biennio rosso*, were already present in pre-war Italy. On the other hand, the instability of the 'second culture', and the demagoguery that Gramsci thought present, caused him to be critical of this tradition.

The First International in Italy: 1870–80⁴

Italian Internationalism was shaped through a national struggle in an agrarian society, where the concept of 'Italy' was limited to a small band of intellectuals, artisans and urban petty bourgeoisie. When the centralizing state arrived in the countryside, it was disliked, and at time it was opposed tooth and nail. In the 1860s the south was bloodied by a ferocious civil war in which a recalcitrant peasantry opposed what was felt to be a foreign state, which had degraded its religion, forced it to pay greater taxes and had conscripted its sons into a distant army. The brigands in the south sided with the Bourbons and the Catholic clergy or were involved in local quarrels. Other forms of protest spread the length and breadth of the peninsula. In 1869, a wave of riots, nearly a popular insurrection, was caused by the introduction of a grain tax. The Italian state's general policy of *fiscalismo* (taxes on articles of popular consumption) pursued in order to pay the debts of the wars of national liberation, alienated the humbler classes. Later, in 1872 and 1873, a series of strikes broke out in Milan, Turin, Florence and Bologna, accompanied by agitation among sharecroppers and landless labourers in the Po Valley. To many observers the fragile Italian state appeared on the brink of collapse; and it was in this setting that the International emerged.

The Italian International spread rapidly in the early 1870s and soon numbered more than 30,000 members. In his multi-volume history of Italy Giorgio Candeloro, dean of Marxist historians, was forced to admit that the International was Italy's first mass party.⁵ The bulk of its membership consisted of artisans from central Italy and Naples, and a national representation of intellectuals and students. Primitive worker organizations – the *fasci* – were also represented and were precursors of the Partito Operaio Italiano and *operaismo* (workerism).⁶

The leadership of the Italian International envisaged the revolution as a 'social *risorgimento*'.⁷ With the first years of disorder in mind, they believed that the national state could be overturned through armed insurrection. A demonstrative act in the countryside, what Errico Malatesta termed 'propaganda by deed', would convert pre-political revolt into a conscious socialist uprising. Both a planned revolt in 1874, and a guerrilla action in the mountains south of Naples in 1877, were miserable failures. The revolts provided the opportunity for the government to destroy the International, and after a series of mysterious bomb explosions and attempts upon the King's life, the International was outlawed.⁸

With the crushing of the International, Italian anarchism failed to create a long lasting national organization until the years before the First World

War. The government always struck harder at the anarchist movement than it did at the emerging socialist party. Anarchists and 'anarchoid' behaviour were identified in criminal terms, outside the protection of constitutional guarantees. The anarchist movement was classified as either terrorist or insurrectionist in character, and during periods of social unrest the anarchists served as the usual scapegoats. After the mass repression of the 1870s the movement again felt the blows of the state in the middle 1880s during the first mass strikes of Po Valley *braccianti* (landless agricultural labourers). Later, in the 1890s, the anarchist movement was virtually destroyed. The left was threatened throughout the 1890s, but the anarchists were particularly hard hit. With the formation of a Marxist-oriented socialist party, the anarchists failed to mount major opposition because of this repression and a general disorientation in their own ranks.

Under Giolitti the anarchists were still persecuted. Although Giolitti had more respect for civil rights than his predecessors, he was far from being libertarian. Political repression generally spared the more moderate socialists, but the intransigents, the syndicalists and the anarchists could be arrested for a wide variety of press laws and others that punished public denigration of the monarchy and the police. Giolitti always tried to prevent anarchist or syndicalist leadership from emerging in the young labour movement. Although he was perfectly prepared to support moderate-led strikes, and even pressurize employers to settle, he ordered the arrest of anarchist and syndicalist labour leaders regularly.⁹

Anarchist history is harder to follow after 1880 because of the discontinuities of its leadership and its organizations. With the rise of the PSI and its associated trade union confederation, the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* (CGL), the history of libertarian socialism breaks down into a study of its influence on other institutions such as the PSI, the CGL, the syndicalist chambers of labour and the *Unione Sindacale*; the studies of regional social history where anarchists maintained a more continuous physical presence; and the individual biographies of its more prominent national leaders.

Italian Anarchism, Syndicalism and the 'Second Culture': 1900-14

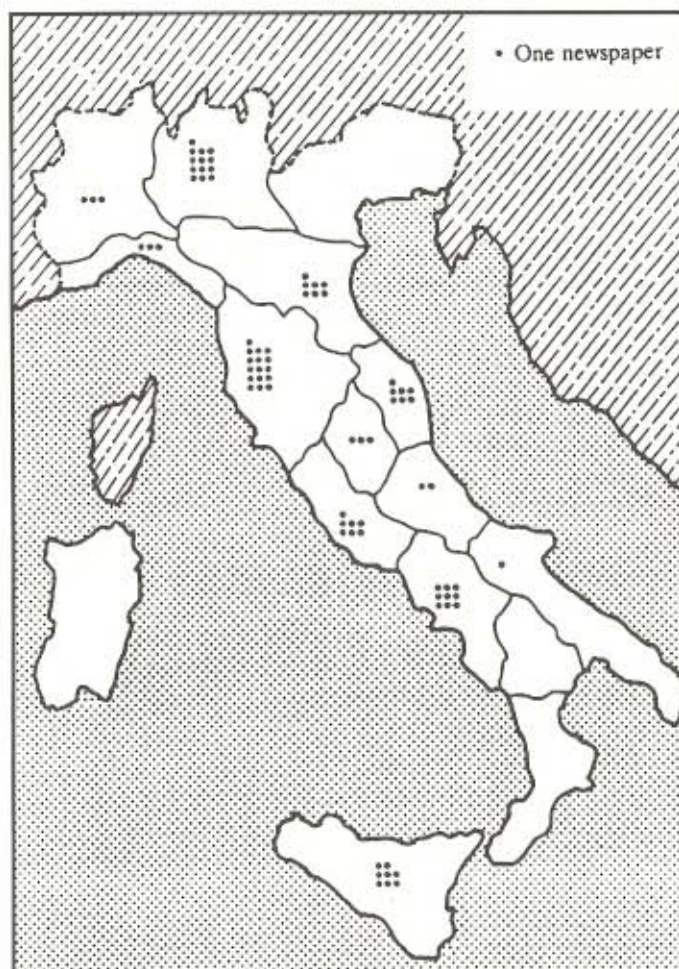
Although the anarchist movement failed to maintain a continuous national organization after the disappearance of the International, certain areas became strongholds, where the anarchists, through tradition and local organizational strength, survived periods of repression, serving as focal points during revivals. Anarchist leadership originated and carried out



Map 1.1. Geography of Italian anarchism, 1891-8 (Source: Carl Levy, 'Italian Anarchism, 1870-1926', in D. Goodway (ed.), *For Anarchism: Historical and Theoretical Approaches*, London, 1989, p. 31).

most of its work in central Italy. Until the middle 1920s, Tuscany, the Marches, Umbria and Rome remained the core of the movement.

With the effective repression of the 1890s, and the division of the anarchist movement into mutually distrustful factions of organizationalists and anti-organizationalists, the anarchists appeared endangered with political extinction. In fact the anarchists modernized their appeal by partially



Map 1.2 Distribution of the anarchist press in Italy, 1900-14 (Source: Carl Levy, 1870-1926, in D. Goodway (ed.), *For Anarchism: Historical and Theoretical Approaches*, London, 1989, p. 33).

adopting syndicalist arguments. Through their control of important power bases in central Italy's chambers of labour – Rome, for example, had an anarchist secretariat for most of the Giolittian era – the anarchists were assured of organizational protection.

The anarchists were capable of making startling reappearances. During the unsettled period opened by the Libyan War (1911) and temporarily

closed with the World War, and later during the *biennio rosso*, the long standing popularity and continuity of anarchism in Massa-Carrara, Ancona, Leghorn, Piombino, Rome and the Genoese industrial hinterland, acted as a springboard for national revivals. On its own, however, anarchism was a minor force. Even at the peak of prewar activity, on the eve of the Red Week, anarchists numbered no more than 9,000 to 10,000.¹⁰ Revivals were always threatened by violent factional disputes, which erupted between Malatestan anarchist communists advocating non-sectarian labour organization, anti-organizational anarchist communists who detested the Malatestans' insistence on a separate national anarchist organization, anarchists closely associated with the syndicalist labour organizations and Stimerite individualists preaching an elitist aestheticism repugnant to the other factions.

By the early twentieth century a pattern of anarchist life had been established and remained the norm until the *biennio rosso*. Local territorial areas of anarchist influence were accompanied by control of a chamber of labour, or the appearance of a labour-oriented weekly newspaper. The anarchists also contributed labour organizers to the CGL and the syndicalist movements. Within the autonomous railway workers union, the *Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani* (SFI); they assumed a permanent leadership.¹¹ The anarchists also achieved influence in the socialist *Federazione Italiana Operai Metallurgici* (FIOM) (metal-workers union).

The greatest influence the anarchists achieved was increasingly felt in the syndicalist movement. Italian syndicalism led a bewildering life.¹² Starting off as a faction of the Socialist Party in the early 1900s, it splintered into a kaleidoscope of local movements, found new strength in the prewar direct-action *Unione Sindacale Italiana*, and during and after the First World War it became controlled directly by anarchists. Syndicalism influenced debate throughout the Italian left. On the one hand, syndicalist intellectuals created a form of 'Paretian' socialism that was suspicious of all forms of state interventionism or protectionism, and was attracted to Marxism because the modern working class would modernize Italian capitalism by forcing the capitalist class to become healthy and efficient and not parasitical on the favours of the Italian state. For most Italian syndicalist theoreticians, non-economic, moral motivations, were central for the formation of a working-class elite. A proletariat that relied on Giolitti's favours, and was softened by his programme of statist social legislation, would never become the heroic elite they pinned their hopes on. The theoreticians of syndicalism formed a close alliance and admiration for Italian free-trade economists such as Einaudi, Cabiati and Giretti, and Pareto himself looked on with sympathy and interest at the beginnings of

the syndicalist movement.¹³ On the other hand, working-class syndicalist organizers, such as Filippo Corridoni, were pioneers of industrial unionism in Italy. They stressed the concept of the factory unit rather than the craft or the chamber of labour as the basis of trade union organization. However, most of the non-anarchist elements in the prewar syndicalist movement were deeply influenced by a Mazzinian heritage. This meant that they saw syndicalism as a bridge to a popular nationalism in Italy. Some syndicalists were important in the creation of the Nationalist Association and the synthesis of doctrine and practice that carved out a niche for fascism after the war. When war broke out in Europe in 1914, these syndicalists opted for intervention. For some, republican France was endangered by Prussian feudalism. Others argued that, through the European war, the Italian working class would be prepared for an international revolution. Irrational aspects were also present. War was pictured as a democratic crusade or as a revolution; syndicalism's verbal violence could now embrace total war.¹⁴ As the non-anarchist leadership abandoned its control of the *Unione Sindacale* the anarchists finally gained control of a workers' organization capable of exercising a significant, if erratic, influence over hundreds of thousands of workers. Nevertheless, if we compare the socialist trade union federation, the CGL, to the anarchists, it would have to be conceded that the anarchists remained a junior partner.

This junior partnership with the Italian socialist party and the CGL still influenced the tempo and character of left-wing political culture in Italy. The peculiarities of the Italian Socialist Party gave the anarchists political space that saved them from marginalization.¹⁵ Formed in 1892, it only adopted the name *Partito Socialista Italiano* in 1895. This was because, at its birth, it was a coalition of forces: the Fabian-like Socialist League of Milan, the Chartist-like *Fasci Siciliani*, the workerist *Partito Operaio Italiano*, the electoral vehicle of the ex-anarchist Andrea Costa and the voice of the Po Valley landless labourers, the Revolutionary Socialist Party of the Romagna. The original party evolved from an umbrella of regional associations to a single-member based party, which officially stressed its opposition to anarchism and endorsed the Marxist socialism and organizational model of the SPD (German Social Democratic Party). Membership expanded from 27,000 in 1897 to 37,000 in 1913. Meanwhile its electoral strength in national polls grew as suffrage expanded from 8 per cent to near universal manhood suffrage in 1913. The socialists captured 9 per cent of the vote in 1897 and 17 per cent by 1913. The chief institutions of the party included the GPS (the socialist parliamentary group), *Avanti!* (the national party newspaper), the national directorate and the local sections. Unlike the Germans, however, the Italian

party never created massive national organizations, nor did the previously mentioned organizations behave in a disciplined fashion or possess particularly sound finances.

Just as Italian life was still largely defined within a local dimension, so, too, were socialist politics. A socialist presence was far more pervasive within the local government and rich political subcultures of the northern industrial suburbs, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and Apulia. If the PSI as an organization and as an electoral machine tried to mimic the SPD after its promising electoral victories of the 1890s, the Italian party relied upon a coalition of landless labourers, artisans, industrial workers and the educated middle classes quite different from the German case. The positivist intellectuals, who dominated the socialist parliamentary group, did not pretend to be fully conversant with the entire corpus of Marx's and Engels's writings. Their knowledge of *The Communist Manifesto* or *Capital* was derived from the versions rendered by the anarchist Carlo Cafiero, and for the cadres and rank and file of the party much of their political education was reliant on anarchist and libertarian literature. Anti-clericalism, anti-militarism and intransigent republicanism linked anarchism to the broader socialist movement.

The rolling general strikes that punctuated the Giolittian era illustrate the persistence of direct action even as the suffrage gradually encompassed the adult male population of Italy.¹⁶ In fact, through the chambers of labour libertarian culture remained key to the construction of socialist sociability before 1914. The socialist culture of *sovversivismo* was therefore noticeably influenced by anarchist literature, poems and songs found in abundance at the chambers, particularly of the anarchist poet, sociologist and lawyer, Pietro Gori. The chambers of labour bound together the sentiments of localism and anti-statism still found in the socialist subcultural heartlands, and they served as the nerve centres for general strikes that sometimes developed into open insurrections. This anarchist-influenced socialist subculture acted as an unofficial grapevine from 1904 to 1914, and later, we shall see, in 1919-20. The influence of the great anarchist Errico Malatesta (1853-1932) in the crisis of 1898 or the Red Week of 1914 best illustrates how the anarchists were at the epicentre of protest waves that unsettled Italy until the Great War.¹⁷ Therefore the lack of formal membership within the anarchist organizations before the First World War does not necessarily mean that they were marginalized in the Italian left.

The description of the young Gramsci's political beliefs that introduced this chapter hints at a close kinship with the syndicalist intellectuals. Although we will not encounter Gramsci until Chapter 3, it is worthwhile

anticipating our arguments about the direct linkages and elective affinities that tied the young Sardinian to them. Gramsci, like the syndicalist intellectuals, and, indeed, like many radicals and conservatives of all stripes, was obsessed by the failure of the ruling class that followed the *Risorgimento*. Along with the Spaventas, Pareto, Mosca and Antonio Labriola, he felt that the Liberal State was nothing less than a monstrous abortion, retarding economic development and degrading public life.¹⁸ The failure to sustain a productive bourgeoisie, and the persistence of Italian humanism, had led to a corresponding failure of the modern working class. The state embodied the anarchoid individualism of Italian daily life, still governed by the intrigues of priests, lawyers and the semi-literate intelligentsia. Gramsci and the syndicalists found their solution to their dilemma in the modern factory. It was in the works of Arturo Labriola and Enrico Leone that the spirit, if not the letter, of Gramsci's early love affair with the factory was first expressed.¹⁹ Equally important for setting the stage for the factory-based forms of organization advanced during the *biennio rosso* were the pioneering efforts by industrial unionists in the immediate prewar years. The industrial unionists stressed that shop-floor democracy should be the basis for trade unionism. The prewar syndicalists had incorporated demands for greater shop floor control, wage parity and a new more militant internal commission system that foreshadowed the *biennio rosso*. The idea that the trade union was based on the workforce of an entire factory would be repeated by Gramsci in his attack on craft-oriented unions. Most importantly, the image, which the tribune of Milanese industrial unionism, Filippo Corridoni, employed of factories as the molecular building blocks of a new industrial state, remained with Gramsci.²⁰ Gramsci did not seem to realize that Labriola and Leone had envisaged the trade union in much the same role as his factory council, as Gramsci criticized the syndicalists for relying on the trade union – an institution, he explained, caught in the web of capitalist relations. However, Gramsci would agree with the syndicalists that Marxism identified capitalism's central contradiction not in the ultimate economic crash or in an involuntary falling rate of profit, but in the struggle on the factory floor between workers demanding greater self-management and the individual ownership of the capitalist. In fact the syndicalists' trade union was meant to opt out of the system. Indeed, Gramsci would give his assent to the syndicalist belief that the industrial proletariat had to show itself capable of replacing capitalism with a more productive and efficient system. Gramsci was the heir to syndicalist productivism and its praise of the so-called functional hierarchy of the factory. For the syndicalists the union was a source of social authority, forming a new nationally based

molecular unity, founded on real productive relations. The factory-based union unified atomized Italian society. Gramsci replaced the union with the factory council, but in many respects its functions were similar.

The syndicalist theoreticians and Gramsci also shared an aversion towards anarchism.²¹ The exact relationship, however, between the prewar syndicalist and anarchist movements is hard to determine with exactitude. On the local level anarchists and syndicalists worked happily together, but on the national, formal, ideological level, the confrontation between anarchism and syndicalism foreshadowed many of Gramsci's polemics with the anarchists in the *biennio rosso*.

The anarchists believed that trade unions only served as a means to ameliorate the conditions of the working class and, during social crises, as means to mobilize workers for revolutionary action. They envisaged a post-revolutionary society built on a plurality of organizations based on free accord, the unions being only one such institution. Although syndicalism inherited much of anarchism's anti-statism, its continual reiteration of the need for experts and functional hierarchies disturbed many anarchists, although Malatesta anarchists were quite close to a functional interpretation of social institutions, but Malatesta and other anarchists denounced the proposition that production was a good in itself. It was the distributive concept in anarcho-communist thought, Kropotkin's belief that the aim of socialism was the full enjoyment of the fruits of labour, not merely the moral uplift that work provided, that separated the anarchist tradition from Gramsci and the syndicalists.²²

Gramsci's Marxism inherited the syndicalist legacy through the theory of Georges Sorel, and less so from a direct acknowledgement of the work of Arturo Labriola and Enrico Leone. What he most definitely did inherit was a style, language and range of concepts which theoretical syndicalism had popularized, but his originality lay in his attempt to synthesize aspects of syndicalism with a political philosophy influenced by Italian neo-idealism and the Marxism of Antonio Labriola. Through the pedagogical tradition of neo-idealism, Gramsci wanted producers' socialism to be realized through rational discourse.

The young Gramsci was a southerner at sea in a northern industrial city. In the next chapter I will examine the specific characteristics of the Torinese working class and its links to socialist, anarchist and syndicalist movements before 1914. A discussion of Turin's 'second culture' and its relationship to socialist intellectuals will be followed by an account of Gramsci's first encounters with it in Chapter Three.

Notes

1. Much of this chapter is based upon my 'Italian Anarchism, 1870-1926', in D. Goodway (ed.), *For Anarchism: Historical and Theoretical Approaches*. (London, 1989), pp. 24-58. The best account in English of the anarchist movement until 1892 is Nunzio Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism 1864-1892*, Princeton, 1993. A good overview of the movement can be found in Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible. A History of Anarchism*, London, 1992, pp. 446-52. The chief Italian texts are: E. Santarelli, *Il socialismo anarchico in Italia* Milan, 1959 and 1973 (revised edition); G. Cerrito, *Dall'insurrezionalismo alla settimana rossa*, Florence, 1977; P. C. Masini, *Storia degli anarchici dal Bakunin a Malatesta (1862-1892)*, Milan, 1974; *Storia degli anarchici italiani nell'epoca degli attentati* Milan, 1981; A. Dadà, *L'anarchismo in Italia: fra movimento e partito. Storia e documenti dell'anarchismo italiano*, Milan, 1984.
2. A. Asor Rosa, *Scrittori e popolo*, Rome, 1966, vol. II, pp. 50-1.
3. This has been a major theme of several works by Richard Bellamy and Darrow Schecter see, R. Bellamy, *Modern Italian Social Theory: ideology and politics from Pareto to the present*, Cambridge, 1987; R. Bellamy, *Liberalism and Modern Society*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 105-56; R. Bellamy and D. Schecter, *Gramsci and the Italian State*, Manchester, 1993.
4. The best account of the First International in English is Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism*, or see R. Hostetter, *The Italian Socialist Movement, Origins (1860-1882)*, New York, 1958.
5. G. Candeloro, *Storia d'Italia moderna*, Milan, 1970, vol. VI, p. 54.
6. Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism*, pp. 77-81.
7. On the origins of the conception of a 'social risorgimento' see, S. Woolf, *A History of Italy 1700-1860*, London, 1979, pp. 419-30.
8. P. C. Masini, *Gli Internazionalisti. La banda del Matese (1876-78)*, Milan, 1958; S. De Corato, 'Magistratura, anarchici e governo. La vicenda della banda del Matese', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1984, pp. 321-72.
9. For the legal context the general relationship is discussed in, G. Neppi-Modona, *Sciopero, potere politico e magistratura, 1870-1922*, Bari, 1972; R. Canosa and A. Santusuosso, *Magistrati, anarchici e socialisti alla fine dell'ottocento in Italia*, Milan, 1981; J. A. Davis, *Conflict and Control. Law and Order in 19th Century Italy*, Basingstoke, 1988, pp. 217-37; R. B. Jensen, *Liberty and Order. The Theory and Practice of Italian Public Security Policy: 1848 to the Crisis of the 1890s*, New

- York, 1991; A. De Grand, 'Giolitti and the Socialists', in Spencer M. Di Scala (ed.), *Italian Socialism Between Politics and History*, Amherst, 1996, pp. 23-37; G. Sacchetti, 'Controllo sociale e domicilio coatto nell'Italia crispiina', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1996, pp. 93-104.
10. L. Lotti, *La settimana rossa*, Florence, 1972, Appendix, Table III; M. Antonioli, 'Il movimento anarchico italiano nel 1914', *Storia e Politica*, vol. 13, 1973, pp. 235-54.
11. M. Antonioli and G. Checchetto (eds), *Il sindacato ferrovieri italiani. Dalle origini al fascismo 1907-1925*, Milan, 1994.
12. For overviews of syndicalism see, G. B. Furiozzi, *Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario italiano*, Milan, 1977; D. D. Roberts, *The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism*, Chapel Hill, 1979; A. De Clementi, *Politica e sociale nel sindacalismo rivoluzionario 1900-1915*, Rome, 1983; C. L. Bertrand, 'Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy', in Marcel van der Linden and Wayne Thorpe (eds), *Revolutionary Syndicalism. An International Perspective*, Aldershot, 1990, pp. 139-54; M. Antonioli, 'Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario italiano', in Maurizio Antonioli, *Il sindacalismo italiano. Dalle origini al fascismo. Studi e ricerche*, Pisa, 1997, pp. 125-56.
13. For syndicalist intellectuals see, D. Marucco, *Arturo Labriola e il sindacalismo rivoluzionario in Italia*, Turin, 1970; E. Zagaria, *Marxismo e revisionismo. Bernstein Sorel Graziadei Leone*, Naples, 1975; Riosa, *Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario in Italia*, Bari, 1976; Roberts, *The Syndicalist Tradition*; W. Gianinazzi, *L'itinerario di Enrico Leone*, Milan, 1983; P. Favilli, *Storia del marxismo italiano. Dalle origini alla grande guerra*, Milan, 1996.
14. For Corridoni see, M. Antonioli, 'Sindacalismo rivoluzionario italiano e modelli organizzativi: dal modello industrialista di Filippo Corridoni ai sindacati nazionali d'industria (1911-1914)', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1976, pp. 14-78. On the syndicalist origins of nationalism and fascism see, Roberts, *The Syndicalist Tradition*; J. J. Tighiano, *Edmundo Rossoni. From Revolutionary Syndicalism to Fascism*, New York, 1991.
15. Overviews of the PSI can be found in J. A. Davis, 'Socialism and the Working Class in Italy before 1914', in Dick Geary (ed.), *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 182-250; J. Miller, *From Elite to Mass Politics. Italian Socialism in the Giolittian Era, 1900-1914*, Kent, 1990; G. Cingari and S. Fedele (eds), *Il socialismo nel mezzogiorno d'Italia 1892-1926*; Z. Ciuffolotti, *Storia del PSI. Le origini e l'età giolittiana*, Bari, 1992; M.

- Ridolfi, *Il PSI e la nascita del partito di massa 1892-1922*, Bari, 1992; C. Levy, 'The Italian Socialist Party and the Second International', *Labour History Review*, vol. 58, no. 1, 1993, pp. 18-25; S. Di Scala (ed.), *Italian Socialism. Between Politics and History*, Amherst, 1996.
16. M. Murtaugh, *Italian Labor in Protest, 1904-1914*, New York, 1991. For the weaknesses of Italian policing see, Davis, *Conflict and Control*, p. 241; Jensen, *Liberty and Order*, pp. 84, 181; J. Dunnage, 'Law and Order in Giolittian Italy: A Case Study of the Province of Bologna', *European History Quarterly*, 1995, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 381-400.
17. The chief biographies of Malatesta are: M. Nettelau, *Errico Malatesta*, New York, 1922; L. Fabbri, *Malatesta, l'uomo e pensiero*, Naples, 1951. V. Richards, *Malatesta. Life & Ideas*, London, 1965. Also see G. Landi, 'Malatesta e Merlino dalla prima internazionale alla opposizione al fascismo', *Bollettino del Museo del Risorgimento*, vol. 28, 1983, pp. 121-56; M. Toda, *Errico Malatesta da Mazzini a Bakunin: La sua formazione giovanile nell'ambiente napoletano (1868-1873)*, Naples, 1988. I have also dealt with aspects of Malatesta's life, C. Levy, 'Malatesta in Exile', *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, vol. 15, 1981, pp. 245-70; C. Levy, 'Malatesta in London: The Era of Dynamite', in Lucio Sponza and Arturo Tosi (eds), *A Century of Italian Emigration to Britain. 1880s to 1980s. Five Essays*, supplement to *The Italianist*, vol. 13, 1993, pp. 25-42; C. Levy, 'Charisma and Social Movements: Errico Malatesta and Italian Anarchism', *Modern Italy*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1998, pp. 205-17.
For Pietro Gori see, M. Antonioli, *Pietro Gori, il cavaliere errante dell'anarchica. Studi e testi*, Pisa, 1995.
18. Bellamy and Schecter, *Gramsci and the Italian State*.
19. D. Schecter, *Gramsci and the Theory of Industrial Democracy*, Aldershot, 1991, pp. 45, 56-7.
20. Antonioli, 'Sindacalismo rivoluzionario italiano e modelli organizzativi'. In general see, M. Malatesta, 'Gramsci e il sindacalismo rivoluzionario. Refessioni sul rapporto tra analisi storiografica e giudizio di valore', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1981, pp. 327-57; F. Soldoni, *La struttura del dominio nel sindacalismo rivoluzionario e nel giovane Gramsci*, Milan, 1985; M. Martelli, 'Gramsci e la democrazia consiliare', in Ruggiero Giacomini, D. Losurdo and Michele Martelli (eds), *Gramsci e l'Italia*, Urbino, 1991, pp. 339-49.
21. G. B. Furiozzi, 'Sorel e gli anarchici italiani', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1975, pp. 179-88; G. B. Furiozzi, 'Polemiche tra sindacalisti

rivoluzionari e anarchici italiani nell'età giolittiana', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1981, pp. 495-512; Riosa, *Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario*, pp. 209-12; Roberts, *The Syndicalist Tradition*, pp. 71-5.

22. M. Antonioli, 'Errico Malatesta, l'organizzazione operaia e il sindacalismo (1889-1914), in Maurizio Antonioli, *Azione diretta e organizzazione operaia. Sindacalismo rivoluzionario e anarchismo tra la fine dell'Ottocento e il fascismo*, Manduria, 1990, pp. 203-64; P. Nursey-Bray, 'Malatesta and the anarchist revolution', *Anarchist Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1995, pp. 25-44.

Torinese Anarchism, 1870-1914

Torinese Anarchism: 1870-1900

During the *Risorgimento*, Piedmontese labour politics were essentially conservative. However, even small Piedmontese cities such as Biella and Alessandria boasted of stronger left-wing movements than Turin. Resistance leagues were weaker and scarcer in Turin, where Cavourian liberalism favoured the long-standing tradition of mutual aid and cooperation. At least until the 1870s, the rather extensive network of urban mutual aid societies and cooperatives were dominated by their bourgeois honorary members, and were rare before the strikes of the 1870s.¹

As elsewhere in Italy, the International in Turin emerged through recruits gathered as a result of disenchantment with unification and an equally strong fascination with the Paris Commune. For the most part, however, the local section of the International lacked that contingent of middle-class *Risorgimento* veterans found in more important zones of Internationalist activity, and most artisans remained attached to their conservative institutions, viewing the Internationalists with great suspicion.²

The anarchists only gained broader support when they encountered artisans disenchanted with moderate Cavourian politics; and the more astute Internationalists nurtured the latent *operaismo* present in members of cooperatives and mutual aid societies,³ but the disastrous Internationalist risings in 1874 and 1877 caused the suppression of the Torinese section. Torinese anarchism entered a new phase of development with the establishment of the Partito Operaio in 1883. The anarchists briefly and successfully combined attacks on parliamentary socialism with active labour organization, recruiting a large contingent of engineers, bakers, masons and Arsenal workers. Anarchists were often found at the head of resistance leagues. Even evolutionary socialists, who favoured a parliamentary strategy, respected the anarchists.⁴ Anarchists dominated important local trade newspapers (*Il Muratore* and *Il Panettiere Italiano*) while two popular anarchist journals, *Proximus Tuus* and *Gazzetta Operaia*, propagated

Malatestan labour-oriented anarchism throughout the decade. A young Vercellese law student studying at the university, Luigi Galleani, led the anarchist foray into the Partito Operaio and the labour movement.⁵ Galleani remained one of the key figures in Italian anarchism for the next 40 years. His spirited journalism and legendary oratory quickly secured him provincial fame. Later he lived in North America and became a colourful figure in the Italo-American left, and returned to Turin in 1919 to play a role in the *biennio rosso* (see below, pp. 125–28).

In the late 1880s Galleani represented several Piedmontese sections of the Partito Operaio at national congresses. He organized weavers in the Biellese, rice workers in the Vercellese, and piloted one of the first strikes of Torinese engineers in 1888. For a brief period Galleani succeeded in creating a popular anarchist movement in Turin and Piedmont, and his efforts at wooing the artisans and skilled workers away from the mutual aid societies in the 1880s paved the way for wider acceptance of the more moderate politics of the Socialist Party in the 1890s.⁶

The anarchists, however, were rapidly removed from their prominent positions by a series of inter-related events. As the Partito Operaio increasingly took an electoral direction the anarcho-communists were forced to compromise with first principles, or form parallel organizations, isolating them from the masses. An anarchist 'proto-syndicalism' did not survive the Crispien repression of the 1890s. Their labour strategy was always fraught with danger, and even in the middle 1880s there had been large-scale trials of trade unionists. The leaders of Partito Operaio had realized that middle-class sympathy was necessary and gradually supported the socialist intellectuals' parliamentarianism. Anarchist labour organizers, on the other hand, were exposed to repression because working-class institutions were incapable of sustained activity. Anarchist influence in the moderate Chamber of Labour in the early nineties, accompanied by a seemingly widespread working class readership of their newspapers, evaporated overnight when Crispi ordered the detention of leading figures in the movement.⁷

Secondly, Crispi's policy of repression favoured the growth of anarchist terrorism. As the movement fragmented through arrests and forced exiles, lesser known individualists and terrorists began to dominate discussion in formerly popular newspapers. Anarchism quickly lost its organic links with the labour movement and its followers withdrew into philosophical speculation, political purism and blood curdling pronouncements.⁸ The Torinese movement seemed to be in the forefront, with *L'Ordine* energetically denouncing anti-terrorists such as Saverio Merlino and Malatesta and rather futilely trying to prevent the emergence of a parliament-

arian socialist party.⁹ Widespread arrests in 1894 effectively suppressed anarchism and revolutionary socialism for many years to come.

Torinese Socialism 1890–1914

Torinese municipal socialism, like its counterparts in other Italian cities, was staffed by former liberal intellectuals and professionals, who quickly dominated the Partito Socialista, and during its early years, the Chamber of Labour. Their original success came as journalists, launching a new generation of socialist newspapers, which disseminated positivist and Christian socialist themes that succeeded in recruiting the middle classes *en masse*, while remaining sufficiently popular amongst the skilled working class to outflank anarchist critics.¹⁰ In many respects these middle-class socialists imported the Cavourian traditions of paternalist reformism and pragmatic politics into the Partito Socialista and the labour movement. The Chamber of Labour, one of Italy's first, was organized by a lawyer who hoped that it would arbitrate in industrial disputes, thereby avoiding the conflicts of the 1880s.¹¹ As a hiring hall, the Chamber of Labour would also grant workers security of employment and keep them at arms length from the *classi pericolose* (dangerous classes). This policy initially won favour amongst reformists in the older Partito Operaio who supported the middle-class socialist parliamentary candidates the Partito Socialista ran in the mid 1890s. In 1897 Quirino Nofri and Oddino Morgari were elected in a victory in Turin. A decade's work amongst the intelligentsia and the skilled working class had reaped impressive rewards.

Intellectual recruitment into the party brought notoriety and respectability in middle-class circles. This *socialismo dei professori* included leading literary figures, sociologists, lawyers, criminologists, economists and doctors.¹² The intelligentsia provided local socialism with its benign image. By employing contemporary positivist sociological laws they separated the working class into two 'types'. The honest, intelligent son of labour – socialism's constituency – and his 'double', 'the worker inclined to vice and intolerant of every restraint, who believed that it was his right to work only some days of the week, spending the others in taverns'.¹³ The growth of positivism at the university, and the nearly simultaneous attraction of leading intellectuals to a politics of reform, were joined together by fears of the unhealthy effects of uncontrolled industrialism. Empirical investigation of crime, disease and housing conditions accompanied this religion of positivism.

These middle-class socialists can be divided into two distinct groups. The first, including the respected writer, Edmondo De Amicis, the world

famous sociologist, Cesare Lombroso or the economist Achille Loria, had achieved fame independently of their public conversion to socialism. For the party their importance lay as disinterested advocates of socialism, not as organizers or politicians *per se*. They very effectively proselytised within established bourgeois circles, forging alliances with radical liberals sympathetic to collectivist reforms. (For example, journals such as *Riforma Sociale*, featuring a young Torinese such as Luigi Einaudi and the southern reformer Francesco Nitti, served as local and national halfway houses between left-wing Giolittians and the Partito Socialista.)¹⁴

The other group of middle-class socialists – Morgari and Nofri – became professional politicians, connecting the literary and university intelligentsia to the skilled working class. Their political programme of municipal socialism and the encouragement of worker cooperatives remained that of the local party for the next 20 years. Trade unionization and even strike support were both very often ignored, but so were other contentious issues such as the Southern Question and republicanism.¹⁵

Socialism for Morgari meant a rather vaguely defined humanitarianism. Reform of society's abuses would be achieved slowly, through the application of the new positivist sciences and, particularly for Morgari, through the propagation of Christian solidarity, winning well-meaning middle-class converts to its side.¹⁶ Positivism accentuated Torinese particularism, and Lombroso's attempts to uncover so-called racial differences between the 'impulsive' if 'generous' southern peasant and the 'sturdy', hard-working northern skilled worker, filtered into the propaganda of the Torinese labour movement for many years to come.¹⁷

The religion of socialism provided a moral ideal rather than a coherent programme; it was the medium through which positivist reforms were popularized. Edmondo De Amicis brought his literary skills to socialism. His sentimental political novels stressed the reconciliation of classes, cooperation and civic altruism, and his activity on the city council in the 1890s underlined an advocacy of workers' organization. Organization defused the threat of uncontrollable popular violence.¹⁸ De Amicis made socialism palatable to a liberal middle-class electorate.¹⁹

At first working-class organizations were divided as to whether or not to accept a communal subsidy for the Chamber of Labour. Indeed the remaining anarchists caused a temporary crisis in the new body, but this was quickly overcome. Local municipal socialism was very appealing to the labour movement. Endorsement of worker cooperatives found widespread support in a city with a long history of associationism. The Associazione Generale degli Operai (AGO), the Alleanza Cooperativa Torinese (ACT) and the railway workers' cooperatives were controlled

by moderate socialists, and for the next 30 years their leadership worked in tandem with moderate politicians such as Morgari. The Chamber of Labour escaped relatively unscathed by the repression of the 1890s owing to its control by the moderates,²⁰ but it, like the cooperative movement, remained representative of a small section of the working class, never exceeding 5,000 members in this decade. The skilled worker and artisan followers of municipal socialism merely transferred their older moderate associationism over to new institutions.²¹ The victorious election of 1897, coming one year after the downfall of Crispi, proved that both this constituency and the enlightened middle classes were prepared to follow the socialists' programme. The socialists' pledge to eliminate the speculative middle man in public services, coupled with their opposition to the 'southern despot' Crispi and the authoritarian General Pelloux appealed to the liberal Piedmontese,²² but socialism also guaranteed order. During the Milanese riots (*Fatti di Maggio*) of 1898, Turin under the insistent appeals of its leadership, remained quiet. The downfall of Pelloux and the accession to power of Zanardelli and then Giolitti appeared to many Torinese socialists and liberals alike as a victory for peaceful progressive politics.

Anarchism in Turin: 1900–1910

After the 1880s anarchism lost the overwhelming importance it briefly possessed. The Crispian repression and the emergence of the Partito Socialista left nearly a decade's gap in its history. In 1900 a local anarchist writing in a short-lived new edition of *L'Ordine* described 'six years of sleep'.²³ Between 1900 and 1914, Torinese anarchists remained numerically insignificant. Police reports indicate no more than 20 or 30 active anarchists between 1897 and 1910, and even on the eve of the Red Week in 1914, the anarchists probably did not exceed sixty.²⁴ The movement was in a decidedly precarious position until 1910. A brief legalization in 1897 ended with the repression following the Milanese *fatti*. One year later the anarchists reappeared, but their activity was reduced to receiving overseas newspapers and half-heartedly intervening at meetings of the AGO.²⁵ Pamphleteering and oral propaganda continued in the 1900s, mostly due to the efforts of two anarchists, Domenico Zavattero and Massimo Rocca (or, as he was known, Libero Tancredi, later to assume some importance in fascism during the 1920s). Another anarchist, Mario Gioda, was less well known publicly but became a leading writer in the chief periodicals of the anarchist press. Tancredi and Gioda were both printers and assumed national prominence a few years later. Rocca supported the Libyan War (1911–1912), whereas Gioda wrote frequently for the

anarchist press until 1914 when he became an early and important left-wing interventionist. Nevertheless in Turin itself *circoli di studi sociali* (social studies circles) appeared and died regularly, but a sense of continuity was lacking.²⁶ The Torinese movement failed to publish a single newspaper until the *biennio rosso*. Anarchists can be detected intervening in the gas workers' strike of 1902 and the massive struggle of cotton weavers four years later. During the 1906 strike, seventeen anarchists were arrested after intervening in a demonstration that led to clashes with the police and the erection of a barricade in the city centre. However, even this group can be considered only marginally more important than Zavattero.²⁷

In order to understand the revival of libertarian socialism, the model outlined in Chapter One will be employed to explain how a small movement such as the anarchists influenced the common culture of the new industrial working class of Turin's suburbs.

The Automobile City

The emergence of a vast industrial economy, sustained by dynamic automobile and engineering industries, occurred within the first decade of the twentieth century. In a matter of years the old, somnolent aristocratic capital was transformed into Italy's premier industrial city, and a new industrial ruling elite contested for positions of influence and power with the traditional landed and professional classes.

Turin experienced a demographic explosion as it drew migrants leaving nearby Alpine valleys to its factories. Its population growth accounted for 85 per cent of Piedmont's during the 1900s.²⁸ The most dramatic change occurred in new worker suburbs where industry took root. Automobile and engineering factories were established outside the old municipal customs barrier (the *dazio*) thanks to the electrification of Turin and its hinterland.²⁹ As prosperity returned, after the shocks of the 1890s, Torinese workers were forced by inflationary rents to seek housing in these mushrooming suburbs. Borgo San Paolo grew from 4,000 inhabitants in 1901 to over 21,000 ten years later; Barriera di Milano and Barriera di Lanza increased eightfold.³⁰

By 1911, these suburbs were being swamped in waves of rural migrants. In just two years (1907-9) 50,000 Alpine mountaineers and Po Valley peasants came to Turin to join a growing industrial army.³¹

Two-thirds of all registered births in 1911 came from working-class families largely located in the suburbs. At the eve of the war Turin's population counted for more than one-eighth of Piedmont's total. In 1911

14 per cent of the working population of Piedmont was engaged in industrial pursuits; but with 79,000 industrial workers Turin's stood at nearly 20 per cent of its total.³² Thirty-three per cent of the industrial workers were employed in the rapidly expanding engineering trades, while the older and more stagnant cotton mills employed 20 per cent. By 1911 Turin already had 6,500 car workers, more than 25 per cent of all workers employed in engineering.³³

Car workers were generally highly skilled males; only in the last prewar years did any semi-skilled or unskilled workers appear.³⁴ Car workers in the prewar years were a link between the artisanal past and the mechanized future. Many had been trained at their skills in railway shops and coach-making firms that preceded the industrial boom.³⁵

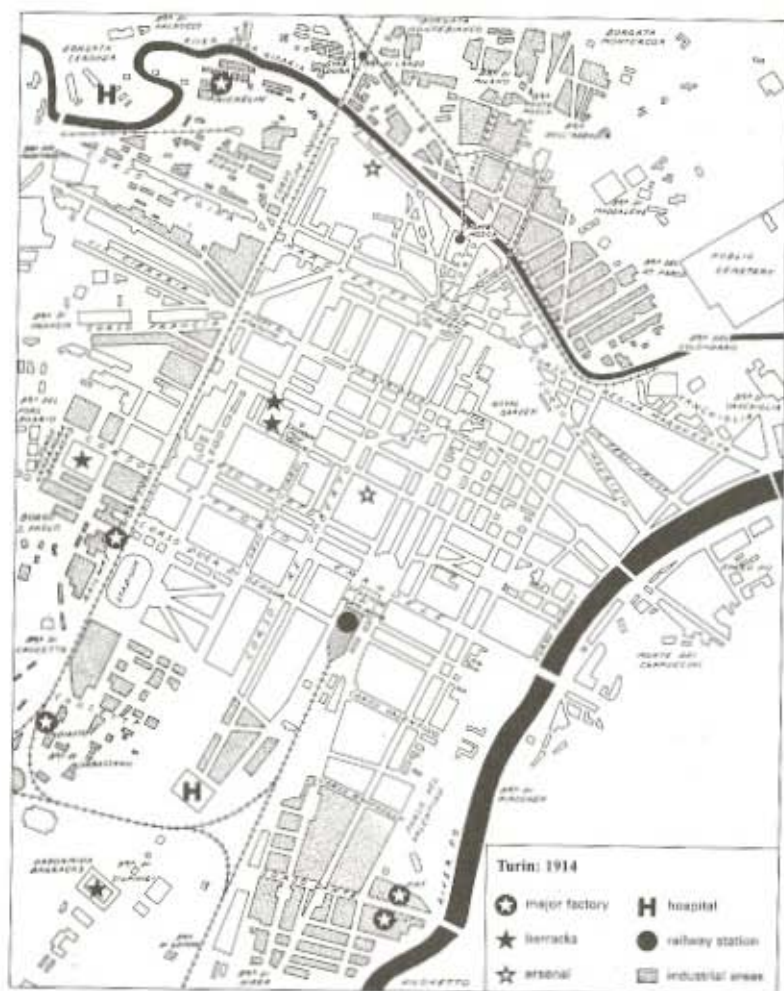
In less than a decade from its introduction as a snobbish toy for Piedmontese aristocrats, the automobile had brought forth a booming industry. Not only did it supply trams, buses and motor cars, but marine and aviation engines had already become important products. French and German capital, abundant water power, a nucleus of highly skilled workers, and a group of talented entrepreneurs provided the ingredients for its success. Giovanni Agnelli, the demiurge behind Fiat, stood out, but he had many competitors until the financial crash of 1907 and a further rationalization during the war. Fiat, Spa, Itala, Scat, Rapid and Lancia competed for markets and skilled workers.³⁶

Agnelli exemplified this innovative capitalist elite. His success in attracting capital to Turin was matched by a shrewd, benevolent paternalism that shaped, 'a group of mechanics and generic toolmakers, and sometimes simple manual workers, a nucleus of skilled workers, of technicians, and designers, accustomed to factory conditions'.³⁷ Agnelli built recreation centres, subsidized housing and encouraged job mobility within his young industrial empire. He captained the new *borghesia del lavoro*, which

maintained an 'enlightened' perspective with regard to workers' syndicates and reform socialists, fellow members of an "industrialising bloc" which jointly overcame the static politics of the traditional merchant-professional ruling elite of the city, replacing it with a policy oriented towards rapid industrial growth, vocational training, improved social services, and modernisation of the urban-regional infrastructure.³⁸

The Torinese Partito Socialista: 1900-14

Municipal socialism ran into its first major crisis during the new era of industrial relations ushered in by Giolitti. During the first strike wave



Map 2.1 Turin: 1914

(1901-2) following the legalization of trade union activity by Zanardelli, the reformists condemned the strikers for their immaturity.³⁹ Most socialist *professori* left the party in a few years, but the politicians (Nofri, Morgari, Casalini, etc.) remained and dominated party life. Even if the party served as their election machine, it demanded careful handling. After 1900 popular alliances with other parties were rare; in any case Torinese radicalism and republicanism had always been thin on the ground. With the exception of sympathetic noises emitting from the Giolittian *La Stampa*, clericals and liberals evolved an alliance directed against the socialists, especially after the 1904 general strike alienated former supporters of the PSI.⁴⁰

Morgari's invention of 'integralism' was a rather pathetic attempt to paper over the cracks within the reformist camp, stealing some thunder from syndicalist and anarchist opponents into the bargain. In his rhetoric Morgari identified the enemy of socialism as ill-defined 'speculators', the 'corrupt nobility' and the Church. After 1904, when Giolitti began wooing Catholics, a crude anti-clericalism overshadowed the original evangelical overtones of the 1890s. Anti-clericalism was the most widely employed weapon in integralism's arsenal of populist rhetoric. It was accompanied by a minimal programme - enlargement of suffrage, abolition of the grain tax and better and more equitable social services, but Morgari and his fellow integralists kept a weather eye on their shopkeeper and lower-middle-class voters, taking care to subsume industrial militancy under less class-divisive issues.⁴¹

In the long run, this projected alliance ran into a series of insurmountable contradictions. Middle and lower-middle-class voters gradually turned away from municipal socialism as the growing working class population threatened their power and prestige. With the 1913 election, the first under near-universal manhood suffrage, they swung heavily to clerical and nationalist candidates. The industrialists, for their part, with the exception of Agnelli, remained less attached to Giolitti's form of liberalism. Employer syndicates appeared within a short time and adopted more intransigent policies than Agnelli had wished. By the war industrialists followed uniform policies formulated by their syndicates. Strikes were broken through lockouts and some noted militants were blacklisted from all factories, while members affected in industrial disputes received financial aid from the syndicates. Furthermore, industrialists began to conceive of themselves as a separate productive class, beholden neither to the 'lawyers' nor the 'professors' who dominated proceedings in parliament.⁴²

The reformist socialists, for their part, neither controlled nor represented the vast unorganized segment of the Torinese working class. This 'second

culture' militated against the politics of compromise, and even Agnelli had become increasingly ambivalent towards his original political strategy by 1910. The Libyan War effectively destroyed Agnelli's constituency by stimulating a nationalist resurgence in Turin's middle classes. Besides, Agnelli's first attempts at introducing the rudiments of Taylorism into Fiat's factories, along with long-term no-strike union contracts, were being met with resistance by that very elite of car workers he had helped nurture. Increasingly the younger generation deserted reformism for revolutionary socialism. Thus, both the modern working class and the industrialists increasingly abandoned Giolittian liberalism.⁴³

Until the eve of the war Morgari and his allies never remained far removed from the levers of power in the local party. At *Il Grido del Popolo*, the local socialist newspaper, in the AGO, or in the party *sezione* they reigned supreme, but their constituency was slowly being whittled away. As the middle-class generation of the 1890s flowed away from the party, activists were not replaced by working-class candidates. In 1910 the local party had less members than in 1897.⁴⁴ A new socialism arose in the worker suburbs. Its participants were distant both in geographical space and social class from the party leadership of the city centre. After 1910 the epicentre of Torinese socialism moved from the middle-class city centre to these industrial suburbs where it grew in an irregular fashion moulded by the 'second culture'.

Torinese Labour Organizations: 1900-14

Even a rapidly industrializing city such as Turin had the same low, erratic rate of unionization found elsewhere in Italy. FIOM only established a firm membership with the First World War, but the more popular Chamber of Labour also had an uncertain constituency.

Organizational life for rank-and-file workers was generally identified with an official but immediate institution like the *lega* or in the semi-official, semi-clandestine factory internal commission, not in the craft or industrial federation.⁴⁷ The internal commissions in small shops and large factories provided greater continuity of organization and were more readily accepted by unionized and non-unionized alike.⁴⁸ Between 1906 and 1911 a series of shop floor 'micro incidents' concerning staffing levels, overtime pay, internal discipline and piece-work rates were managed by internal commissions and only adopted by the trade union when a broader strike needed greater coordination.⁴⁹

Table 2.1. FIOM Membership: 1900–14⁴⁵

<i>Turin and Province</i>	
1905	954
1906	2,390
1907	4,300
1911	1,517
1913	1,759
1914	4,227

Table 2.2. Turin Chamber of Labour Membership: 1900–14⁴⁶

1902	3,500
1903	7,500
1906	9,189
1907	14,973
1908	26,835
1910	9,838
1911	9,049
1912	9,331
1913	9,117

Strikes: 1900–10

Major strikes during this period broke out in 1901, 1902, 1904, 1906, 1907 and 1909. Typically, a strike wave was clustered around a general strike, which brought both economic and political issues to the forefront. Even if reformist trade unionists and socialist deputies sought to use direct action to pressurize the government in their public proclamations, localized institutions found in factories and neighbourhoods had as much to do with strike waves as did municipal or national socialist politics.

Four strikes – 1902, 1904, 1907 and 1909 – arose outside the control of the Chamber of Labour. Only afterwards, with workers streaming to its doors in Corso Siccardi, did representatives of the Partito Socialista and the Chamber of Labour officially endorse the movement, but from the 1907 strike onwards an organized leadership of anarchists and syndicalists actively intervened at the factory and neighbourhood level to lead marches to the Chamber of Labour demanding city-wide action.⁵⁰ This (for want of a better term) ‘organized spontaneity’ became clearer as the ‘generation of 1910’ assumed more influence in the labour movement.⁵¹

The general strike in 1909, following the execution of the Spanish libertarian educationalist Francisco Ferrer, is perhaps emblematic of all these urban uprisings. It happened during a period of relative industrial peace, when internal commissions had been severely weakened by the employers. Nonetheless, groups of anarchist, syndicalist and left-wing socialist workers visited factories and pulled out workers. With the car workers in the van, 20,000 strikers streamed out of the suburbs. An anarchist remembered the demonstration as part of a much wider international movement. 'All the workers revolted, all the youth of Europe, not only in Turin.'⁵² Ferrer's execution had also aroused the anti-clerical middle-class freemasons (Ferrer had been one) and the Morgari integralists, but there was a sharp demarcation between the suburban demonstration and the more peaceful protests in the city centre. Industrial workers emphasized their 'Ferrer', not merely the educator but the leader of Catalan syndicalism.⁵³

Rebelliousness was not only inspired by politics. In Italy industrialization happened in little more than a generation and older traditions were therefore carried over into new settings. In 1908 workers were still being sacked in automobile factories for indulging in Saint Monday. Indeed the offence was so widespread that its practitioners were called *lunedianti* by the Torinese.⁵⁴ The leader of FIOM was appalled by the 'barbarity' of its own constituency, and not a little embarrassed,⁵⁵ but skilled car workers considered themselves the equal of a lower-middle or middle-class person. Maurizio Garino, a young anarchist we shall encounter repeatedly, was little impressed by young university intellectuals who looked down on manual workers. Being a modelmaker, he recalled, meant he had to arrive at his own solution to technical problems and even invent devices to help him carry out his job.⁵⁶

Torinese Syndicalism 1900-10

In its proto-syndicalist guise, a left intransigent faction gathered support through criticism of the timid industrial politics of the reformists. However, it never developed a coherent plan that would actually coordinate party politics and the policies of the Chamber of Labour.⁵⁷ After the 1904 general strike a syndicalist faction was established.⁵⁸ By 1908, syndicalists had been ejected from the party, although their style remained a legacy for the post-1910 New Left. Unlike other areas of syndicalist growth, Turin neither produced nor played host to any major theoreticians. The syndicalists were never able to dislodge Morgari from power, as they had briefly succeeded in doing to Filippo Turati in Milan.⁵⁹

During its first wave, the syndicalist movement found its greatest support in a network of *circoli di studi sociali* that emerged from anti-militarist and pro-Russian Revolution campaigns in 1905, which received significant support from the industrial working class.⁶⁰ Torquato Nanni (a civil engineer) and Alfredo Polledro (a literary critic, journalist and future publisher of translations of Slavonic literature) stimulated these connected campaigns, helping to publish a string of syndicalist newspapers. (*Il Grido Proletario* 1907-8, *La Guerra Sociale* 1908, and *Vogliamo* 1909). Polledro and Nanni argued for *blocchi rossi* (red blocs), alliances of all the *sovversivi*. *La Guerra Sociale* advocated an insurrectional general strike, denounced Morgari's integralism, and mercilessly lampooned demagogic anti-clericalism. Polledro had lived in Paris for some time and had become a disciple of Gustave Hervé, and the French anti-militarist wrote frequently for *La Guerra Sociale*. (Other 'irregulars' also contributed - Charles Malato, Robert Michels, Enrico Leone, Benito Mussolini and Luigi Fabbri.)⁶¹

In connection with his propagation of the general strike and anti-militarism, Polledro launched an Italian section of the Anti-Militarist International.⁶² Anti-militarist campaigns invariably led to court appearances for publication and distribution of forbidden material at local barracks. *Il Grido Proletario* concerned itself more intimately with industrial problems, dismissing FIOM reformist leaders' support of the closed shop in exchange for long-term contracts and arbitration agreements, such as the Itala contract of 1906.⁶³ These newspapers served as training grounds for younger workers, where anarchists, syndicalists and socialists created long-term alliances campaigning against governmental arbitration in industrial conflicts.

However, syndicalism's first wave ran into insoluble problems. Syndicalists never succeeded in controlling the Chamber of Labour. Reformists controlled the main voting blocs in executive committee meetings, and while the FIOM membership may have sometimes sympathized with some of syndicalism's objections to reformist trade-union practice, support for its full programme was problematic at best. Syndicalists sought to circumvent this serious weakness by advocating provincial industrial unions that would break the grip of the craft unions. While they raised important questions about the fragmented nature of the Italian trade union movement, their arguments never won the day before the eve of the war. The reformists curtailed much of syndicalist power, at least for several years after 1907, by amending the constitution of the Chamber of Labour so that general assemblies no longer possessed deliberative powers. By denying the syndicalists access to their street forums, reformists hoped to

control the usage of the general strike weapon, thereby preventing surprise mobilizations that had frequently undermined their authority.⁶⁴ Indirectly, however, the syndicalist's campaigns legitimized the anarchist movement in Turin once again.⁶⁵

The Second Generation: 1910–14

Around 1910 a second generation of local socialists took shape. Composed of self-educated workers living in the rapidly expanding suburbs, they represented a challenge to Morgari and other veterans. The Federazione Giovanile Socialista (FGS, Young Socialists) served as a power base, championing anti-militarism; further spurred on after the start of the Libyan War and the worsening European situation. These young socialists attached themselves to a new wave of syndicalist militancy, which threatened the hegemony of the CGL. Benito Mussolini, the brilliant young editor of *Avanti!*, became their political hero. His brash language calling for a *blocco rosso* of socialists, anarchists, syndicalists and other 'irregulars' became their programme. A new menacing *teppa rossa* (red mob) was discovered by the Torinese middle classes, but collective violence was not the result of the conjuring arts of itinerant *sovversivi* whom journalists so vividly portrayed. It had its own local roots.⁶⁶

Common cultural, political and intellectual experiences informed the early lives of the generation of 1910. Revived *operaismo* was probably the most important. While middle-class intellectuals drifted away from the earlier generation's positivist socialism towards neo-idealist, irrationalist and nationalist orientations, the younger working-class socialists retained a strong faith in materialist philosophies. A popular positivism coupled with a distaste for city centre intellectuals defined their socialism.

Craft pride lay at the bottom of this workers' culture. Self-confidence was built on mastery of industrial techniques.⁶⁷ In the suburbs craft pride, custom and socialist morality were inextricably mixed together.⁶⁸ The isolated *barriere* or *borghi* of the industrial hinterland created a communitarian spirit nurtured by interconnected, informal networks of relatives, workmates and neighbours.⁶⁹ The two major industrial suburbs were Borgo San Paolo and Barriera di Milano. Unlike older worker settlements (Borgo Dora for example which attracted poorer and less skilled workers) these two suburbs were almost completely populated by skilled workers employed for the most part in the automobile ancillary industries. Barriera di Milano contained a row of major industrial factories. (Officine Metallurgiche, Brevetti FIAT, a steel mill, Ansaldo San Giorgio, Grandi Motori, Fonderie FIAT – all located in one of the central streets, Via Cuneo.) Nearby the

Fonderie Subalpino, a weaving mill and a densely packed district of small and medium-sized factories attracted an ever growing working-class population.⁷⁰ Until 1910 *Barriera di Milano* was cut off from the city centre. Lacking a tram link, the three kilometre walk was rarely, if ever, undertaken. Borgo San Paolo was virtually an autonomous industrial district, separated from an older less energy-hungry small shop industrial base located closer to the city centre.⁷¹

Borgo San Paolo, like *Barriera di Milano*, had been a rural settlement until the end of the nineteenth century. By 1911 the population stood over 4,000, having grown from a mere few hundred. In 1920 Borgo San Paolo had a population over 20,000. Borgo San Paolo had an impressive industrial centre by 1911. Car factories such as Lancia (1905), Spa (1905), Cherubini (1911), Diatto (1904) and associated industries such as Westinghouse and Dubosc opened their doors all within a decade's time. Even if industry became the dominant feature of its landscape, rural memories remained. Young workers recalled romping through open fields in these years.⁷²

Migration brought specific political traditions with it, and immigrants settled in the same area. By 1919 only 25 per cent of San Paolo's population were native born Torinese. Most recent arrivals came from rural Piedmont, mainly Val di Susa and Val di Giovena. One quarter of the suburb's population were Apulian immigrants, the only group of southerners to migrate massively during these years.⁷³ Socialist politics predominated in Borgo San Paolo and immigrants (especially the Apulians) were important in local party activities.

Barriera di Milano had a notable anarchist presence, reinforced through immigration of Vercellese, Novarese and Biellese peasants.⁷⁴ Garino recalls that the Vercellese were 'the most combative, the most revolutionary, especially the anarchists, because in the Vercellese there were numerous strongholds'.⁷⁵ In fact the memory of Luigi Galleani's activities amongst the rice workers was transmitted orally from the generations of the 1880s and 1890s through these migrants to Turin. The Vercellese spoke of 'Galleani, tribune, who in America, had done extraordinary things'. The Biellese had their own anarchist leader – Tommaso Concordia – fervent rationalist and anticlerical, editor of Biella's *La Fede*. Then there was the evangelical influence of socialist Dr Maffi who also preached to the rural workers in the 1890s, and whose utopian socialism was carried to this industrial city.⁷⁶ In 1905 a bitter strike of Vercellese rice workers was strongly supported in *Barriera di Milano*, and one of its first major political demonstrations was a solidarity protest in favour of the strikers.⁷⁷

The centre of Borgo San Paolo was located at Piazza Perschiera, which

contained the market, a creche, a primary school and a church. Local demonstrations began here and the local populace took their *passaggiata* around its grim gerry-built precincts. In suburbs such as San Paolo street life assumed greater importance than in older parts of Turin due to relatively fewer cafés and restaurants. It therefore became a central part of life. One oldtimer interviewed believed that street life created the feeling that the *borgo* was 'really one single family'.⁷⁸

Politics were directly affected by these social arrangements. Many strikes were sustained through informal networks that relied on local shopkeepers to allow bills to go unpaid and neighbours to help feed hungry children.⁷⁹ Solidarity therefore found its sustenance in the daily lives of suburban inhabitants. The isolation from the city, the street life of the suburb and the spirit of a peasant village imported to Turin by these immigrants shaped the 'second culture' in which post-1910 socialists matured.⁸⁰

Suburban Associationism

The growth of Torinese socialism after 1900 was based upon two institutions: political clubs and factory internal commissions. Anarchist symbols and culture remained widely accepted and readily digested by radical and not so radical workers.

Political club life enjoyed a first phase of growth in the 1880s and 1890s, but it died out with the rise of the middle-class socialists in the middle 1890s. From 1905 a new growth is evident, gathering steam by 1910, and becoming the characteristic feature of the new socialism of the prewar years. The first wave of syndicalist activity coincided with the proliferation of *circoli di studi sociali*. In 1905 new clubs were founded and others revived. In 1910, after a period of stagnant socialist growth, the local socialist circles were a bright spot. Four years later the socialist circles had 2,000 paid members, with their strongest representation in Borgo San Paolo and Barriera di Milano.⁸¹ The circles were closely allied to, and sometimes dominated by the socialist youth movement. In theory a *circolo* was the local unit of the Partito Socialista, but it opened its doors to independents as well. Anarchists and other non-party members had a significant presence in these local organizations.⁸²

The generational change experienced by the Torinese socialist movement during these years is reflected in the growth of these clubs and other youth neighbourhood organizations. Young founders of the new clubs felt the atmosphere in older drinking locales too frivolous. Battista Santhià, future communist militant, arrived from the Vercellese and helped form the new club in San Paolo. He recalled that 'even if they were called

wine taverns, they were already politicized'.⁸³ Mario Montagnana, a young socialist of Jewish middle-class origin, who left his family to become a factory apprentice and one of the most articulate speakers in the new club, recalled how its membership earned a certain reputation for puritanism. There was less drink and hardly any gaming at the new club. Although he quickly added in his memoirs that 'one or two glasses were never refused by anyone'.⁸⁴ Camilla Ravera, another future communist, writes in her memoirs that the clubs generated an atmosphere of 'great moral rigour', intellectual discourse – the 'battle of ideas' – replaced all night drinking bouts.⁸⁵ Paolo Robotti, a future power in the Communist Party, then a barely literate factory worker, remembers the clubs as 'schools of practical organization', where workers could learn new intellectual skills, train debating techniques and discuss international events.⁸⁶

During local strikes or election campaigns, meetings could continue for two or three days. The club in San Paolo also served as a surrogate for the internal commissions when they were temporarily driven from the factories. The club located in Piazza Peschiera attracted workers during noontime lunch breaks. Discussion and speeches would surge around its door even on weekdays.⁸⁷

The new clubs possessed impressive libraries. Although systematic records have not been preserved of what membership read, oral testimony is fairly indicative of favourites. Robotti recalled how the membership in San Paolo used one volume as the centrepiece of discussion. They began with Gorki's *The Mother*, then carried on to Jack London's *The Iron Heel* and followed up reading those standbys of early twentieth-century worker culture – Zola and Anatole France. 'They were our first books of socialist education', he concludes.⁸⁸ A generic libertarian literature predominated. 'We talked about Marx', he added, 'because we had his portrait in our meeting room, however to say we knew about Marxism would be exaggerated because Marx's books were too heavy for our stomachs, they were too voluminous. Instead we read the books of Cafiero, the poetry of Mario Rapisardi, the books of Pietro Gori, the anarchist poet.'⁸⁹

Santhià recalls young socialists immersed in anarchist classics. Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread* was extremely popular, Louise Michel's account of the Paris Commune and the pamphlets of Paolo Valera followed in preference, anti-militarist and anticlerical pamphlets made up the balance.⁹⁰ Young socialists avidly digested the rather bombastic rhetoric of Maria Rygier, Corridoni, Massimo Rocca and Gustave Hervé. Corridoni's and Rygier's semi-clandestine *Rompete le File* (*Break Ranks*) was read by everyone.⁹¹ Anti-militarism was a chief preoccupation during these years. *Il Grido del Popolo* ran a campaign throughout 1912 and the FGS

carried its message into the countryside during weekend 'red cyclists' tours, preaching to rural workers on the evils of militarism and religion.

Libertarianism therefore affected the entire New Left, with socialists devouring pamphlets written by an individualist anarchist like Rocca as readily as those by the industrial syndicalist Corridoni. Even a young reformist socialist like Giuseppe Romita shared this origin. He established an anti-clerical group in Borgo San Paolo after Ferrer's execution. Romita was an anti-militarist as well, editing *Giovane Piemonte Socialista* in 1911/1912, which declared 'war on war', and his reformism also contained a strong republican element to it.⁹² This republicanism joined the socialists with the libertarians; and a strong and active contingent of republican printers in San Paolo cemented a triple alliance between all three groups. New alliances were contracted through the good offices of the local clubs and circles, and after the Libyan War, militant middle-class nationalism made its appearance on the streets, which forced anarchists and socialists to establish self-defence units at demonstrations to protect themselves from attacks by nationalist youths.⁹³

Anarchist Growth: 1910-14

A libertarian revival stimulated by the Ferrer execution gathered pace after 1911. Anarchists took leading roles in the 1912 car workers strike, the anti-militarist campaigns following the Libyan War and the Red Week of 1914.

In May 1914 the Piedmontese anarchists organized a provincial *Associazione Anarchica Piemontese*, although it remained weak owing to bickering. Turin had its own, far more effective, *Fascio Libertario* since 1912. *Barriera di Milano* was the centre of the city's libertarian movement, where the anarchists drew support from traditional libertarian causes – high rents, high prices and limitation of police powers. In the suburbs relations with the police were indifferent at the best of times, and when Morgari and Casalini actually sponsored a parliamentary Bill to strengthen the police force, the young anarchists gathered large crowds to their local protests.⁹⁴ Casalini was something of a 'folk devil' for the anarchists. The reformist doctor was remembered by Garino for being a slum landlord in the popular district of Vanchiglia ('That one who exploits tenants, and then has the courage to come and speak about socialism.').⁹⁵

The anarchists also seemed to have had a measure of success in gathering support for electoral abstention. In October 1913 they mounted a demonstration which drew 12,000 into the main piazza of *Barriera di Milano*.⁹⁶

Circolo di Studi Sociali Francesco Ferrer

The influence that anarchism exercised upon the Torinese working class from 1910 to 1922 was closely connected to the history of the Ferrer Circle. It provided a visible profile for a modern form of anarchism anchored in the industrial proletariat. In *Barriera di Milano* it played an analogous role to the socialist club in *Borgo San Paolo*: both were second homes and schools for young self-educated industrial workers.⁹⁷

Turin's adaptation of the Modern School presented several novel features. First, its formation in the wake of Ferrer's execution was intended as an alternative to the already existing Torinese *Università Popolare* (People's University): Turin had hosted the first *Università Popolare* (founded in 1900), but by 1907 its moderate middle-class organizers had alienated working-class students.⁹⁸ One founder of the Ferrer Circle explained that the *Università Popolare* had become too obviously a middle-class institution, where 'only the middle classes go, and very few workers'. 'That', the writer continued, 'is also due to the fact that it is rare that the worker is sufficiently educated to understand the arguments of these speakers, who for the most times are famous professors and lawyers.'⁹⁹

Secondly, the Torinese Ferrer Circle – unlike the policy of the Spanish educationalist – did not recruit youngsters as its pupils but 'youth who had recently left public school for the workshop'.¹⁰⁰ The Ferrer Circle can be considered part of a wider European contemporary tendency to marry self-education and radical/syndicalist politics. In many ways it bore striking resemblances to the British Plebs Leagues and the libertarian schools located with the French *bourses du travail*.¹⁰¹ Its real importance lay in the creation of a generation of industrial militants. During its decade of existence it attracted scores of pupils who later played prominent roles in the chief industrial conflicts extending from the 1912 syndicalist car workers' strike to the 1920 occupation of the factories. But unlike the *Università Popolare* it was almost exclusively composed of working-class students; very few middle-class individuals ever ventured out to *Barriera di Milano*. Garino recalled a smattering of clerks and at most three or four anarchist intellectuals participating in the Circle's activities. Its curriculum – militantly positivist and materialist – differed slightly in content from the *Università Popolare*. The guiding spirit, however, was self-consciously proletarian, suspicious of outside intervention.¹⁰²

Torinese anarchists at the centre of the Circle's activities looked to two sources of inspiration. Luigi Molinari, the anarchist lawyer and long-time supporter of the *Università Popolare* in Milan, published its magazine that provided the young Torinese anarchists with an eclectic mixture of

anarchist classics, Spencer, Comte and Darwin. Discussions of divorce, free love, birth control and the Church dominated its pages. Luigi Fabbri's and Domenico Zavattero's short-lived *La Scuola Moderna* (Bologna, 1912) disseminated Ferrer's pedagogical theories, while Molinari, Fabbri and Zavattero published a small series of anarchist, syndicalist and neo-Malthusian tracts that probably served as political primers in the School.¹⁰³

Although the Ferrer Circle founders were more radical than earlier socialist positivists, they shared philosophical principles. The anarchist schoolmaster Fabbri explained in 1912 that the Modern School was libertarian because it transcended the older radical liberal demand for merely secular education. Education had to be carried on outside and against both the clergy and the state.¹⁰⁴ But faith in modern progress linked the Modern School to advocates of state-controlled education. Science, Ferrer explained in the journal *L'Università Popolare* several years before, was an antidote against dogmas and religions, and the Modern School's type of education sought to shape rational human beings ready to live in a libertarian society.¹⁰⁵ The Torinese version of the Modern School announced its aims in similar language: to spread rationalist culture amongst the working classes; to create 'individuals' and to 'make men', although declaring its working-class interest more openly than Ferrer had done.¹⁰⁶

Like the working-class participants in Milan's *Università Popolare*, the students of the Torinese Ferrer Circle favoured science courses to history or literature.¹⁰⁷ History was envisaged in good positivist fashion as an outgrowth of naturalized sociology, and Molinari's textbook, *Compendio di storia universale* (Milan, 1910), which began human history with an explanation of the origins of the universe, is typical of this trend.¹⁰⁸

The most popular courses taught at the Circle (by anarchist technicians and university students) were astronomy and medicine.¹⁰⁹ Darwin's theory of evolution and anatomy aroused great interest, and Galileo and Kepler were considered circle heroes. Naturally the refutation of religion was a constant accompanying theme. Curiously enough, a surgery course seemed to have been a perennial favourite.¹¹⁰ Perhaps, as Logie Barrow has shown in the case of British plebeian culture, the Italians sought to preserve 'do-it-yourself' medicine, rapidly being swept aside by specialization.¹¹¹

Student reading preferences matched those of the San Paolo club or Milan's *biblioteche popolari* (people's libraries). Jules Verne was extremely popular in Milan and Turin, and Garino recalls reading *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*. Naturally, anarchist classics were heavily represented. Most's *The Religious Pestilence* served as an 'atheist textbook'.¹¹² Attempts at understanding Marx's dialectical materialism were not successful, but

the political differences between Marx and Bakunin were fully explained. Individualist anarchists seemed to have dominated the philosophy course, concentrating on Nietzsche and Stirner.¹¹³ Poetry and art were more popular. Rapisardi, Gori, Carducci and Guisti were memorized by many students, as they had been in the San Paolo club. Magic lantern shows accompanied courses on the Italian masters, a theatre group for young workers was started, and amateur theatricals remained a popular pastime.¹¹⁴

The Circle continually underlined its seriousness, but the Ferrer Circle was divided to accommodate both study and recreation. One room, reserved for dances, led out to a courtyard with a *bocce* court. The other room was devoted to educational activities. When it was founded in 1909 one of its intentions was to combat the apolitical workers' sporting clubs. Football was frowned upon. Instead the Circle organized dances, theatricals, poetry recitals, cyclist tours, and picnics.¹¹⁵

The Circle relied upon its members to donate their free time and money to keep it functioning successfully for over a decade. Lectures and courses were kept at an elementary level, but students were encouraged to read at home and complete occasional written assignments. The most successful ones were given prizes to further enthusiasm. Prize winning 'essays' (usually two or three paragraphs in length) reflect the libertarian positivism championed by the Circle's teachers. (*Obscurantism and Religion, Political Liberty, The Power of the State* and so forth)¹¹⁶ The Circle also openly discussed free love, sexual problems and even held sex education classes, making it less prudish than local socialist clubs. 'For the common people it was taboo to discuss these things!', Garino recalls.¹¹⁷

Torinese Anarchism: 1910–14

The Ferrer Circle catalyzed the anarchist movement in the suburbs. The central core of activists consisted of 25 to 30 former young socialists and syndicalists who had cut their political teeth in Nanni's and Polledro's earlier campaigns. The School's immediate popularity awakened older anarchists who joined forces with the new recruits.¹¹⁸ Barriera di Milano therefore became the centre of industrial anarchism, but there were also less important groups in Borgo San Paolo and Barriera di Nizza.¹¹⁹

At the centre of the new anarchism was the Gruppo Barriera di Milano – a mere dozen or two car and foundry workers – who maintained traditions of militancy in local factories stretching from 1910 to 1920. The Ferrer Circle heightened their corporate sensibility. Through its office, contacts with socialist club members were easily established. The anarchists were considered in the San Paolo club as purer but slightly utopian



LA SCUOLA MODERNA

BOLLETTINO SEMESTRALE

EDITO DAL CIRCOLO DI CULTURA „FRANCISCO FERRER ”

SOMMARIO :

La strada fatta.

Programma del Circolo.

Ciclo di conferenze: Dalla genesi dei mondi all'avvenire dell'Umanità. La restaurazione delle norme scolastiche della scuola.

Temi degli allievi:	{	<i>Oscurantismo e religione.</i>
		<i>Libertà politica.</i>
		<i>Potenza dello Stato.</i>
		<i>Patria.</i>
		<i>Caratteri di sociabilità dell'uomo.</i>

Poesia « A mio fratello ».

Amministrazione: Corso Palermo, 97.

Italia cent. 30

Estero cent. 40.

Figure 2.1 First Issue of *La Scuola Moderna*, journal of the Ferrer School

socialists, reflecting a pattern revealed nationally through oral historical research.¹²⁰

The city-wide anarchist movement was more politically heterogeneous than leading members of the *Barriera di Milano* group who endorsed Malatestan anarchist communism. (The Circle attracted syndicalists, individualists and *galleanisti*.) The younger generation of anarchists could trace their origins to earlier groups. Individualists and anti-organizationalists

had maintained a tenuous link with the anarchism of the 1890s and early 1900s. Cesare Sobrito was born in Turin in 1873. An orphan who had been convicted over a dozen times of vagrancy and robbery, he became a dedicated individualist anarchist after being sent to a penal island in 1899 and living amongst anarchist political prisoners. On his return to Turin he became a mason and kept the libertarian banner afloat, avidly writing for a series of anarchist newspapers. Later he was a founding member of the *Fascio Libertario*.¹²¹ Illario Margarita born in Turin in 1887 was also a mason.¹²² Really part of the younger generation, his activities stretched back further, apparently to 1902. He participated in most of the generally unsuccessful efforts at anarchist recruitment before 1910. Margarita was arrested at many demonstrations, the first time at the textile strike in 1906. He remained a colourful, odd figure in the Torinese labour movement. Active in the *Fascio Libertario*, he had established contacts with the European movement during his periodic tramps in France, Switzerland and Spain.

Margarita's political beliefs were representative of the anti-organizational current which opposed the Malatestans, although it would be an exaggeration to claim that he was a consistent thinker. Indeed, Garino complained that he was always 'a little crazy, a little muddleheaded'.¹²³ He wrote – to the point of excess – above all in the chief Italian individualist and anti-organizationalist newspapers, particularly for the odd Pisan *L'Avvenire Anarchico*. Anarchism for Margarita was less a political doctrine than 'a new conception of life and of a free life'.¹²⁴ It was really his road to self-education and self-expression, just as it had been a form of rehabilitation for Sobrito. Both represented a distinctive social type. Garino remembered one faithful student of the Ferrer Circle – Casassa – an artisan originally from Valle di Lanzo who possessed encyclopedic knowledge. Capable of working at a myriad of trades he refused factory jobs because, 'he would absolutely not submit to exploitation'.¹²⁵ Anarchists formed from this tradition were exasperatingly difficult to work with.

A more significant organizationalist *cum* syndicalist tradition was also sustained through the 1900s. Three anarchists, all rather well-known street orators and labour activists, represent it. Anselmo Acutis (b. 1897 in Turin) was a printer who had collaborated on *La Guerra Sociale* and later helped organize the *Fascio Libertario*. At the Circle he advised the theatre group, being an old *capocomico* (actor-manager).¹²⁶ Mario Mobello, born in 1872, had been a carpenter in various Torinese factories since he arrived from the Vercellese in the 1890s. He was instrumental at advising the founders of the Circle.¹²⁷ Giuseppe Massa (b. 1876), a Vercellese agricultural labourer, had worked in Torinese foundries since the turn of the

century and was the chief link between the first wave of syndicalists and revolutionary socialists (circa 1905) and the younger generation.¹²⁸

Five younger anarchists, however, shaped the new and surprisingly successful political strategy after 1910. Maurizio Garino and Pietro Ferrero were the two most outstanding members of this group. As skilled industrial workers and astute labour organizers both men gained the respect of the new generation of socialists – radical and reformist – as well as of many recent rural arrivals to Turin's expanding factories. If anarchism succeeded in becoming a viable, if decidedly minority movement in Turin, it was largely due to the prestige they earned.

Garino was born in 1892 in Sassari on the island of Sardinia where his father, a Piedmontese *carabiniere*, had been stationed for twenty-five years.¹²⁹ His family returned to Piedmont in the early 1900s when his father began losing his eyesight. Unsuccessful at shopkeeping in Turin, they moved once again to Cassine near Alessandria, and his father became a rural guard. When the socialists were elected in the general election of 1906 and his post abolished, Garino and his sister left the family to find work in Borgo Vittorio, Turin. At fourteen Garino was apprenticed to a carpenter. On the insistence of his devout Sardinian mother he had been educated in religious schools. Later, however, he attended Torinese technical schools, qualifying for the highly specialized craft of modelmaker – designing and executing plans for components in the car industry. In 1907 Garino started his political career as a socialist, but rapidly abandoned electoralist politics for anarchism. One of the founders of the Ferrer Circle, by 1914 he was considered an extremely active, dangerous *sovversivo* by the local authorities and at twenty-two he had already been arrested twice.¹³⁰

Pietro Ferrero, his dearest friend and political comrade, was born in Grugliasco, province of Turin, in 1892. His father had been an early socialist and active cooperator. Before the war Ferrero worked as a tiler; during the war in the Arsenal and in 1918 became a mechanic for Fiat. With little formal schooling (less than Garino in any case) he read during his free time and because the secretary of the Ferrer Circle in 1911. He treasured his own private library of anarchist and socialist classics, and in *Barriera di Milano* he was greatly admired. Unlike Garino he was not known as a street orator, but possessed solid organizational skills which eventually secured him an important post in the local FIOM branch.¹³¹

The three remaining anarchists – Pietro Carlo Mosso, Nono De Bartolomeis and Italo Garinei – were Garino's and Ferrero's intellectual companions. Mosso, born in 1893 at Asti, and De Bartolomeis, born in the same year at Chieri, were of the same generation, while Garinei was a slightly older Pisan born in 1886. Unlike many middle-class socialists

and anarchists they possessed a technical rather than literary education. Garinei had already qualified as an industrial engineer before the war. De Bartolomeis and Mosso were still attending courses at the university. Mosso's particular interest – scientific management – was joined to broader theoretical work in collaboration with philosophy professor Annibale Pastore. For many years the pair worked together disseminating analytical mathematics and logical philosophy in Torinese circles.¹³²

The anarchist technicians were naturally attracted to Kropotkin's synthesis of modern science, industrial technology and political philosophy. Mosso never became an activist, remaining a sympathetic theoretician who intervened with occasional lectures at the Ferrer Circle or in newspaper articles. Even before the war, Garinei and De Bartolomeis were active in local politics, collaborating on many national anarchist and syndicalist newspapers. De Bartolomeis impressed Malatesta during his visit to Turin in 1913. The young engineer carried on a long correspondence with Malatesta's lieutenant, Luigi Fabbri, defending Kropotkinite 'scientific anarchism' against Malatestan scepticism.¹³³

'Anarchy', De Bartolomeis wrote to Fabbri, 'is a scientific interpretation of the universe'.¹³⁴ Kropotkin had perhaps weakened his case by relying on a too mechanistic conception of the scientific method, but nevertheless De Bartolomeis felt that anarchism would have to abandon its purely humanitarian flavour if it was to compete effectively with Marxism. Based on the experimental method, anarchism would marry political conviction to technology and pure science. We, he concluded, do not want anarchism to be utopian 'in the bad sense of the word'.¹³⁵ Anarchism, like socialism in the 1890s, had to win the intellectuals to its side. He was thinking in different terms than a workerist who criticized this approach. He answered unperturbed: 'I said to make anarchists not subversives'.¹³⁶

Self-educated Ferrer Circle activists found De Bartolomeis's view congenial. While the technicians articulated a more sophisticated and up-to-date positivist philosophy (largely based on analytical mathematics and the experimental method), their underlying faith in technical progress was shared by the politicized skilled workers of the suburbs.

The Generation of 1910: the Socialists

The driving force behind the socialist clubs is located in a group of young workers born between 1889 and 1897. Syndicalist and anarchist ties were clearly evident in their political biographies. Vincenzo Bianco (b. 1898 in Turin) and Arturo Terrini (b. 1893 in Turin), factory workers and

founder-members of *fasci giovanili* (youth circles), in which libertarian participation was notable, also organized popular 'red' cyclist propaganda tours in the countryside.¹³⁷ Giovanni Parodi (b. 1889 in Alessandria), a prized automobile mechanic, elected to the central committee of FIOM in 1905 at the age of sixteen, and later fervent Young Socialist and PSI member, remained strongly sympathetic to syndicalism throughout the prewar period.¹³⁸ Similarly, the factory workers Antonio Oberti (b. 1893 in Turin) and Battista Santhià (already mentioned), a skilled mechanic of peasant origins, both maintained warm relations with the anarchists of Borgo San Paolo and Barriera di Milano.¹³⁹ Mario Montagnana (b. 1897 in Turin) (see above, p. 35) was very active in the San Paolo club and expressed a particular admiration for Malatesta. Finally, other lesser known neighbourhood figures such as Paolo Moschelli, the Giambosa brothers and the Cavallo family (originally from Apulia) embodied the new socialism.¹⁴⁰

Two older militants who exercised influence on the city's main organizations were Ottavio Pastore (b. 1887), and Vincenzo Pagella (b. 1879 in the Province of Alessandria). Pastore had previously worked as a railway technician before he arrived in Turin from La Spezia in 1912. He wrote frequently for the socialist press and in 1914 was elected secretary of the Torinese socialist section. Pagella had worked in Torinese railway repair shops since the early 1890s, and syndicalist influences were transmitted to him through the SFI.¹⁴¹

These 'revolutionaries' had available to them the rather weak local tradition of intransigent socialism personified by Francesco Barberis (b. 1864 in Asti). An extremely popular, barely literate carter turned manager of the ACT's canteen, he dominated socialist politics in Barriera di Milano where he was instrumental in founding the socialist *Casa del Popolo*. Barberis's political involvement was particularly rich and long lived. Undoubtedly he transmitted orally the traditions of the Internationalists and the Partito Operaio. Although Barberis was something of a Morgari man, he appears nevertheless to have retained his 'workerism'. The anarchists considered him a 'good socialist' and the suburban population treated him as a local folk hero after his election to the party's national directorate in 1914.¹⁴²

The generation of 1910 also included its reformists. They had a wealth of industrial experience, notable organizational and journalistic abilities and the knack of remaining close to earlier middle-class leaders while maintaining correct, if not entirely warm, relations with the revolutionaries. Bruno Buozi (b. 1881 in the Province of Ferrara) is their most outstanding representative. Before becoming FIOM's chief union organizer, he had worked as a skilled mechanic in Milan. Although his political education

was most definitely 'of the reformist school of Claudio Treves & Filippo Turati', his emphasis on industrial organization (accompanied by a hatred for Italian syndicalism), and his working-class origins, marked a new departure. Buoizzi's political education may have differed little from the first generation of Torinese socialists; indeed, his itinerary included Darwin, positivist tracts and De Amicis. Rather, his real distinction came as an industrial organizer and an acute student of trade union affairs.¹⁴³ His industrial experience permitted him to communicate easily with radical socialists and even anarchist factory militants but at the same time he remained closely allied to centrists such as Morgari, and through all the twists and turns of the turbulent 1910s his radical critics always returned to his side during acute industrial conflicts. Gramsci and his intellectual circle could never match his resources and were constantly bested by him in the rough and tumble of strikes.

Buoizzi imported a fresh style of leadership into FIOM. He participated actively in directing strikes, he edited union newspapers and made serious efforts to explain union policy to the rank and file. Serious preparation for strikes was joined to a knowledge of the economic conditions of industry and the evolution of technology. He sought to adapt the technical expertise that the internal commissions possessed, while dampening down their occasional revolutionary enthusiasms.

Buoizzi's closest collaborators included the already mentioned Giuseppe Romita, Mario Guarnieri, Emilio Colombino and Gino Castagno. Romita (b. 1887 in the province of Alessandria) qualified as a civil engineer. He was a city councillor and editor of *Il Grido del Popolo*.¹⁴⁴ Guarnieri (b. 1886, Province of Cremona) attended technical school, but earned his living as a journalist and labour organizer in Cremona, Novara (he organized the Vercellese rice workers strike in 1905) and Biella. He arrived in Turin in 1911 and became editor of FIOM's *Il Metallurgico*, leading the campaign against the syndicalists.¹⁴⁵

Colombino (b. 1884 in Turin) was an engineer, already active in the Partito Socialista during his adolescence. Active in FIOM since 1905, he became its provincial secretary in 1908, helping to rebuild the organization after the 1907 lockout. He was Buoizzi's right-hand man, but far more suspicious of the non-unionized whom he habitually (and quite incorrectly) identified with strikebreakers.¹⁴⁶ Castagno was also a native-born Torinese (b. 1893), originating from a family of early socialists. Castagno started as a mechanic's apprentice, but was forced out of factory work after an injury and became a professional trade union organizer.¹⁴⁷

So far I have differentiated two groups within the socialist movement of the generation of 1910: reformists cast in Romita's or Buoizzi's moulds

and outright revolutionaries seeking to establish strategic alliances with anarchists and syndicalists. It should be borne in mind, however, that all members of the generation of 1910 carried with them a decidedly libertarian-tinged autodidactic culture that emphasized anti-militarism and anti-clericalism, and all of them look leftwards and towards autonomous working-class politics. Pre-1910 *bloccardismo* (alliances with middle-class freemasons and positivist intellectuals living in the city centre) was less frequent. Therefore, young socialists were joined by young anarchists, raised in the same suburbs, employed in the same factories, and at times sharing their political aspirations in the same local clubs.

Anarchist Action: 1910–14

In the final years before the war the anarchists emerged as a significant political force in Turin. The 1912 car workers strike and the *settimana rossa* (the Red Week) in June 1914 reveal their influence both in industrial and street politics.

The 1912 strike happened in the middle of four years of nationwide class tensions. A bitter strike at Piombino's steel and iron complex had already taken place in 1911. In 1913 two syndicalist-inspired general strikes broke out in Milan. The syndicalist revolt stimulated a growth in the previously lethargic anarchist movement, undoubtedly increasing the popularity of the Torinese groups.

At least part of this syndicalist revolt owes its origins to a new tougher line adopted by industrialists. In Turin the automobile industry's employers' organization (the *consorzio*) had prepared for the 1911 bargaining season accordingly. With the hesitant beginnings of the rationalization of mechanized production it demanded greater shop floor control. One way this would be accomplished was through curtailing customary practices. The *consorzio* specifically demanded the abolition of all *tolleranze* (five or ten minute allowances for lateness and early departure), the introduction of the American (Rowan) piece-rate system and a no-strike contract from FIOM. All unauthorized strikes would be dealt with severely. At the same time, to sweeten a bitter pill, the *consorzio* was willing to grant certain concessions. In 1911 the industry was buoyant. A general European rearmament, the Libyan War and the growing demand for private cars, lorries and trams, meant massive orders. Management wanted efficient, continuous production. The car workers' union, FIOM, would guarantee disciplined workers in exchange for closed shop privileges, the unionization of existing internal commissions and the granting of the *sabato inglese* (English Saturday – half-day working on Saturdays).¹⁴⁸ The proposed

agreement was, for all intents and purposes, a repetition of the earlier 1906 Itala contract. The union sought to recover from the disastrous years after a lockout in 1907, finally gaining a monopoly in the automobile industry's labour market, but deep-seated problems remained: FIOM's numerical weakness (1,517 of approximately 5,000 car workers were organized by FIOM in 1911), and its distrust of the non-unionized, left it in a weak position.¹⁴⁹

FIOM accepted the contract in December 1911, but it was rejected by a vast majority of car workers in January 1912, starting a bitter, seemingly spontaneous strike. A truly paradoxical situation arose with unionized FIOM workers re-entering factories protected from the taunts of strikers (FIOM members and the non-unionized) by the *carabinieri* and the police.¹⁵⁰

Motivations behind the strike seemed to be divided between matters of principle and purely economic grievances. Matters of principle, however, ranked peculiarly high in this dispute. In his standard account of the strike, Paolo Spriano admits that a general aversion to the suppression of the *tolleranze* and the tightening up of discipline were main causes of the dispute. He tends, however, to emphasize the loss of wages caused by shorter hours as being more significant.¹⁵¹ In any case, a wide gulf had opened up between the shop floor and the full-time officials of FIOM. Recent studies of the strike concentrate on the political and psychological reasons for this breakdown in communications.

The leadership of the strike was largely drawn from highly skilled unionized workers, who deserted their union, bitterly disappointed with their new contract. These skilled workers in 1912 established demands for a whole range of unskilled and semi-skilled strikers.¹⁵² Along with a high degree of skill, this leadership was undoubtedly very young – perhaps in their early twenties on average. Older skilled workers had been weeded out during the 'years of silence' following the 1907 lockout, if they seemed too militant.¹⁵³

The heart and soul of the strike was that group of skilled workers from Barriera di Milano attached to the Circle. The Ferrer Circle acted as an *ad hoc* strike headquarters and its students – until well-known syndicalist organizers arrived on the scene – directed the strike's first week.

Garino, Ferrero and other anarchists were in the thick of the battle. Garino explains that the most controversial decision reached by FIOM had been its closed-shop policy. Not only did it offend the non-unionized workers but many radical FIOM members thought it needlessly alienated sympathetic migrant workers.¹⁵⁴ Besides, for Garino and his comrades joining a trade union was meant to be a free decision, otherwise the

ideals of the labour movement would be compromised by a corporate mentality.¹⁵⁵

The second offensive act committed by FIOM was an acceptance of the erosion of customary rights. The disappearance of the *tolleranze* deeply offended skilled workers – such as the modelmaker Garino – who still retained something of the artisan's mentality, even if he and his colleagues were fascinated by factory technology. As Garino recalled, factory regulations were still 'like in the artisanal workshop, ten minutes of tolerated lateness if one entered late, five minutes of tolerated short-time in order to dress, five minutes before leaving; a little bit of paternalism, but for the best'.¹⁵⁶

Other lesser known ingredients helped cement this alliance between unskilled and skilled, which most historians of the strike do not acknowledge. The rank and file of the *Sindacato Metallurgico* was largely composed of Vercellese and Biellese immigrants, who over the previous decade had moved to Turin. Retaining older traditions of agrarian socialism – the Internationalist period apparently remained incorporated in their folk memory (Galleani was still a hero) – they easily followed the leadership of the urban anarchists of the Ferrer Circle. These people who carried recent memories of the hardships of the rice fields and solidarity organized by the anarchists, 'found relief, salvation amongst us'. 'They recovered this tradition in the autonomous automobile union', Garino explains.¹⁵⁷ The young strike leader found support amongst 'almost the majority of workers of recent immigration, not all, but many'.¹⁵⁸

Garino's insistence that their union was autonomous is important to remember. The union activists were not syndicalists 'pure and simple'; indeed the Ferrer Circle militants were wary of forming an openly syndicalist organization. What attracted them briefly to outside syndicalist help was a need for broader solidarity to break their total isolation and an agreement with syndicalism's declared aim to create apolitical trade unions.

Almost immediately the *Sindacato Metallurgico* recruited 2,000 to 3,000 members, or more than FIOM claimed to represent amongst the car workers. On more detailed economic issues the two competing unions did not differ substantially, but the *Sindacato's* willingness to sacrifice the *sabato inglese* and the closed shop for retention of the *tolleranze* and free movement by workers on the shop floor was enormously popular. One syndicalist struck home during debate with Colombino of the FIOM: 'Why do you insist on imposing a regulation on a majority that doesn't want it?' he asked.¹⁵⁹ The strike was therefore a struggle between the partisans of internal commissions and FIOM's modernizers. On another level it expressed the gulf that opened up between neighbourhood radicals

and national trade union officials. The *Sindacato* relied on voluntary networks to survive. Strikers depended on friendly bakers and shopkeepers, since obviously *FIOM* paid them no strike benefit, and even the socialists' cooperative (the *ACT*) refused to help. The socialist establishment had declared war on the rebels. Neighbourhood solidarity was the order of the day, and like the famous syndicalist-led strike in Parma four years earlier, children were sent to families not directly affected by the dispute.¹⁶⁰

Matters degenerated quickly, especially after the minuscule Catholic *Lega di Lavoro*, attempting to fish in troubled waters, entered the fray demanding representation as well. Even the monarchists launched a small trade union to pick at the bones of the moribund *FIOM*.¹⁶¹ On several occasions strikers and working members of *FIOM* brawled in the streets and at stormy meetings. Clubs and knives were used and several workers were seriously injured. It was, Garino ruefully admitted, 'fratricidal'.¹⁶²

At the end of the day the rebels were no match for their employers. Their unskilled allies succumbed first. However, the employers refused to allow things to rest; and at the end of January a lockout was declared and workers were not allowed back until early March. The conditions were humiliating. Each employee would have to ask individually for re-employment, signing a declaration not to join a trade union and accepting a 60-hour week.¹⁶³ Many strikers were sacked but the more skilled leadership of the rebel union were quickly rehired by other firms.¹⁶⁴

The strike was an important step in the evolution of the young anarchists. After six months in the wilderness most returned to *FIOM*, ready to contest policy from within. By the end of 1913 only 100 workers belonged to the engineers league affiliated to the newly created *Unione Sindacale*.¹⁶⁵ The results of the 1912 strike revealed that the Ferrer Circle activists were capable of organizing, for a limited period, their own neighbourhoods in proud defiance against *Torinese* employers, the socialist establishment and *FIOM*, and they also had an ability to recruit non-unionized workers for strike action. They lacked, however, an institutional or logistical backup that could maintain their suburban revolt. This was acknowledged by the majority of anarchists who not only returned to *FIOM* but set at once to rebuilding its shattered edifice, collaborating easily with the new reformist leader Bruno Buozzi.

Throughout 1912 he prepared for a new strike. He reconciled the *Partito Socialista*, the Chamber of Labour and the union in a common effort.¹⁶⁶ With the political weight of the reformist parliamentary group behind him, Buozzi received a respectful hearing from Giolitti and the national government. Buozzi incorporated demands that the syndicalists had

originally championed with FIOM's more moderate ones. The *tolleranze* were to be limited, but not abolished, and more overtime and regular pay compensated for a shorter day. The union would accept the limitation of the right to strike in exchange for broader powers given to the internal commissions. Buozzi realized that they were vital in maintaining FIOM's presence in the factory.¹⁶⁷

The demands were patiently explained to car workers during early 1913, and the syndicalists were given six seats on a 27-member strike committee to smooth ruffled feathers. An overwhelming majority of workers (4,041 of 5,000) supported the new strike.¹⁶⁸ The strike lasted for more than 90 days. Strike pay was supplied by FIOM and the union received aid from the ACT and German engineering unions. The strike, Garino correctly explains, was 'a new event' in Italian industrial relations.¹⁶⁹ In place of the local struggle of 1912, FIOM mobilized the international support of wealthy fraternal unions. When the Lega Industriale threatened a total lockout of Torinese industry, Giolitti stepped in and threatened to deport its French-born leader, Craponne.¹⁷⁰ In June both sides settled. The contract signed by FIOM was quit similar to the Unione Sindacale's in Milan: general strikes and direct confrontation against the state had not been any more effective than Buozzi's course of action.

The socialist-led union had been able to regain the faith and consent of the rank and file, including the sullen non-unionized workers.¹⁷¹ The membership of FIOM in Turin leapt from 1759 in the early months of 1913 to 3,125 by the end of this year.¹⁷² The union established a firm foundation for future growth.

Buozzi's most important accomplishment had been the opening of a new relationship with the unorganized. The winning over of the anarchist activists had been crucial. They supplied the cadre guaranteeing continuity of policy and greater internal democracy. Pietro Ferrero helped Castagno edit *La Squilla*, FIOM's factory flysheet, which contained detailed information on new piece rates and union policy, greatly expanding the visibility of the union.¹⁷³

Although the anarchists had been coopted by this industrially-based reformism, they proved in 1914 that their street politics were still capable of taking the established labour movement by surprise.

La Settimana Rossa

Anti-militarism became the single most successful campaign that the Torinese libertarians mounted before the war. As we have seen, it affected the whole generation of 1910. Even the divisions caused by the 1912

strike did not prevent reformist, Mussolinian and libertarian anti-militarists working together during the Libyan War. These activities had a particularly anarchist tinge to them since the cases of Augusto Masetti and another anarchist, who had refused to join their army units in Libya, seized the imagination of the entire left. With Malatesta's return to Italy in the spring of 1913, *Volontà*, the voice of Malatestan anarchism, gained hegemony over a mass movement numbered in tens of thousands.

In November 1913 Malatesta visited Turin and spoke to a large crowd at the Chamber of Labour.¹⁷⁴ In the following months the pro-Masetti campaign grew rapidly. Numerous meetings were held in Borgo San Paolo, Borgo Vittoria, Barriera di Nizza and Barriera di Milano.¹⁷⁵ During March 1914 leftists battled nationalists in the streets.¹⁷⁶ A socialist candidate confronted an openly nationalist Giuseppe Bevione, the war correspondent for *La Stampa*, in a parliamentary by-election, further polarizing the city that had already witnessed street battles in the autumn of 1913 during the general election.¹⁷⁷ It was the first fought under near universal manhood suffrage, and the electorate polarized between socialists and right-wing liberals and clericals: the centrist radicals, republicans and reformists were wiped out.¹⁷⁸

Throughout 1913 and early 1914 socialists and libertarians were constantly arrested at barracks distributing anti-war literature.¹⁷⁹ After two years of industrial conflict the automobile workers were thoroughly politicized. On May Day a large crowd gathered at the Chamber of Labour. Garino spoke for the anarchists but was prevented from finishing his speech when a police officer ordered him to stop.¹⁸⁰ A few weeks later Torinese anarchists travelled to Bologna to attend a national pro-Masetti conference at which Malatesta called for national demonstrations on the first Sunday in June. The date had been a conscious choice, falling on the Festa dello Statuto, which celebrated the House of Savoy's constitution of 1848.

Minor incidents with nationalists continued up to 7 June. On 8 June, after hearing of two deaths in Ancona during the anti-militarist demonstration, an unofficial strike broke out in the automobile factories, rapidly becoming general throughout the suburbs.¹⁸¹ The strike, as in 1912, had been spread by Ferrer Circle activists and through the youth circles in the suburbs. Maurizio Garino led the demonstration from its beginning.¹⁸²

After the 1912 strike Garino had been sacked from his factory job, but he quickly found another as the *capo* of a small carpentry shop at a film studio. (Turin was Italy's first film capital.) Four or five of his workmates were socialists or libertarians and working conditions, as he recalls them, were not very taxing.¹⁸³

On 8 June he read of the *fatti* (riots) in Ancona. He left his shop and with a handful of anarchists spread the news throughout the suburbs. Using the Ferrer Circle as their headquarters, the anarchists organized a solidarity demonstration. Having heard that Ancona was controlled by the left and that the Romagna had been cut off from the rest of Italy, Garino and his comrades assumed that a revolution had broken out. Explaining the events to the factory workers they received an immediate response. Tools were downed and the factories emptied. Three separate marches from Borgo Vittoria, Barriera di Milano and Borgo San Paolo converged on the Chamber of Labour. Engineers, especially from Lancia, Frejus and Materia Ferrovia in San Paolo were noticeable, but the chemical and rubber workers from Michelin also joined. As in other solidarity demonstrations during the prewar years, the female textile workers participated enthusiastically. Garino's mother marched.¹⁸⁴

Within a few hours thousands of workers were at the Chamber of Labour demanding an official general strike. The following day the CGL and the socialists called an official strike. Fifty thousand marched in a violent demonstration. Unlike previous confrontations during general strikes, thousands of workers – instead of hundreds – battled with the police, wounding many, and two workers were shot dead by the *carabinieri*.¹⁸⁵ Nationalist caf  s were smashed up and a series of barricades were erected in the city centre. By 10 June the strike was petering out throughout Italy. Garino spent eight days in jail.

The real effects of the Red Week would only become apparent during the interventionist debate which shattered the *blocco rosso*. The riots had exposed deep-seated problems in Liberal Italy,¹⁸⁶ but they served as a baptism of fire for a new generation of educated middle-class socialists swept up in its fury, among whom was Antonio Gramsci.

Notes

1. N. Lisanti, 'La nascita del movimento operaio (1815–1860)', in A. Agosti and G.M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, Bari, 1979, vol. 1, pp. 219–68.
2. P. Spriano, *Storia di Torino operaio e socialista*, Turin, 1972, pp. 12–13; M. Nejrotti, 'Correnti anarchiche e socialisti 1870–1888', in Agosti and Bravo, *Storia*, pp. 275, 282.

3. E. Civolani, *L'anarchismo dopo la Comune: i casi italiano e spagnolo*, Milan, 1981, pp. 112-18.
4. Nejrotti, 'Correnti', pp. 284-5.
5. M. Nejrotti, 'La stampa operaia e socialista (1848-1914)', in Agosti and Bravo, *Storia*, pp. 402-5. For Luigi Galleani in North America see, P. Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti. The Anarchist Background*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 92, 103, 122-36; N. Pernicone, 'Luigi Galleani and Italian Anarchist Terrorism in the United States', *Studi Emigrazione*, vol. 30, September, 1993, pp. 469-88. There are many oral historical accounts of Galleani in the US in P. Avrich, *Anarchist Voices. An Oral History of Anarchism in America*, Princeton, 1995.
6. M. Nejrotti, 'Le prime esperienze politiche di Luigi Galleani (1881-91)', in Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, *Anarchismo e anarchia nel mondo contemporanea*, Turin, 1971, p. 212; U. Fedeli, *Luigi Galleani Quarant'anni di lotta (1891-1931)*, Cesena, 1956; P. C. Masini, *Storia degli anarchici dal Bakunin a Malatesta (1861-1892)*, Milan 1974, *Ad Nomen*; P. C. Masini, *Storia degli anarchici italiani nell'epoca degli attentati*, Milan, 1981, *Ad Nomen*, P. Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits*, Princeton, 1988, pp. 167-71; P. Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*, pp. 48-50; E. G. Zappi, *If Eight Hours Seem Too Few. Mobilization of Women Workers in the Italian Rice Fields*, Albany, 1991, pp. 61, 62, 69; N. Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism 1864-1892*, Princeton, 1993, *Ad Nomen*.
7. Nejrotti, 'Correnti anarchiche', p. 295; D. Marucco, 'Processi anarchici a Torino tra il 1892 ed il 1894', Fondazione Einaudi, *Anarchismo e anarchia*, pp. 219, 231-32.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
9. Nejrotti, 'La stampa operaia', p. 422.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
11. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 23. For its origins see, D. Robotti and B. Gera, *Il tempo della solidarietà*, Milan, 1991.
12. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 36.
13. C. Pogliano, 'Mondo accademico, intellettuali, professione sociale dall'Unità alla guerra mondiale', in Agosti and Bravo, *Storia del movimento operaio*, p. 480.
14. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 45-7; Pogliano, 'Mondo accademico', p. 519.
15. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 42-3.
16. R. Allio, 'Oddino Morgari, socialista', *Bollettino Storico - Bibliografico Subalpino*, vol. 68, 1970, pp. 567-91.
17. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 46-7; Pogliano, 'Mondo accademico', p. 512. For Lombroso see, L. Bulferetti, *Lombroso*, Turin, 1975; D.

- Pick, 'The faces of anarchy: Lombroso and the politics of criminal science in Post-Unification Italy', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 21, 1986, pp. 60–86.
18. G. Bertone, 'Parlare ai borghesi: De Amicis, il primo maggio e la propaganda socialista', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 3, nos 2/3, 1980, pp. 155–73.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 169–170; S. Timparano, *Il socialismo di educato*, Verona, 1983.
20. Pogliano, 'Mondo accademico', p. 342; M. Grandinetti, 'Movimento sindacale e politica socialista a Torino negli ultimi anni dell'ottocento', in Agosti and Bravo, *Storia del movimento operaio*, p. 347; Robotti and Gera, *Il tempo*.
21. Grandinetti, 'Movimento sindacale', p. 348.
22. Grandinetti, 'Movimento sindacale', pp. 364, 366.
23. *L'Ordine*, Turin, 1 November 1900.
24. AST stampa e giornali anarchici – provenienti dall'estero 1898–1902, Mazzo 146 bis; Mazzo 151. Gassisti, Procura Generale di Torino 1906/7–1914; M. Antonioli, 'Il movimento anarchico italiano nel 1914', *Storia e Politica*, vol. 13, 1973, p. 238.
25. AST, 1898–1902, Mazzo 146 bis.
26. E. Santarelli, 'Rocca, Massimo', in F. Andreucci and T. Detti (eds), *Il movimento operaio italiano. Dizionario biografico*, Rome, 1978, vol. IV, pp. 365–68; A. Rosada, 'Zavattero, Domenico', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio*, vol. V, pp. 290–3; M. Antonioli, 'Gli anarchici italiani e la prima guerra mondiale. Lettere di anarchici interventisti (1914–15)', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1995, pp. 77–87.
27. AST, 1898–1902, Mazzo 151, 7 March 1902; Procura Generale di Torino 1906/7–1914.
28. P. Audenino, 'Dati strutturali sulla classe operaia all'inizio del novecento' in Agosti and Bravo, *Storia del movimento operaio*, vol. 2, pp. 15–16. For the relationships between the Torinese aristocracy and the new middle classes see, A. L. Cardoza, *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy. The Piedmontese Nobility, 1861–1930*, Cambridge, 1997.
29. S. Musso, *Gli operai di Torino 1900–1920*, Milan, 1980, p. 25.
30. V. Castronovo, *Storia delle regioni. Il Piemonte*, Turin, 1977, pp. 175–6.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
32. Audenino, 'Dati strutturali', p. 28.
33. Castronovo, *Storia delle regioni*, p. 209.
34. Musso, *Gli operai*, pp. 57, 67.

35. Audenino, 'Dati strutturali', p. 31.
36. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 102, 114; F. Adler, *Italian Industrialists From Liberalism to Fascism, 1906-1934*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 35. Cardoza notes the role of aristocrats in the founding of Fiat see, *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy*, pp. 164-77.
37. Castronovo, *Storia delle regioni*, pp. 191-2.
38. F. Adler, 'Factory Councils. Gramsci and the Industrialists', *Telos*, no. 31, 1977, p. 76.
39. P. P. Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe, sindacalismo e riformismo a Torino, 1898-1910', in Agosti and Bravo, *Storia del movimento operaio*, vol. 2, p. 53.
40. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 72, 79, 80-1.
41. *Ibid.* p. 155.
42. M. Abrate, *La lotta sindacale nell'industrializzazione in Italia (1906-1926)*, Milan, 1976, p. 69; V. Castronovo, *Giovanni Agnelli. La Fiat dal 1899 al 1945*, Turin, 1977, pp. 51-5.
43. Castronovo, *Giovanni Agnelli*, p. 44.
44. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 204.
45. M. Antonioli, 'Dalla lega di mestiere alla federazione d'industria (1898-1914)', in M. Antonioli and B. Bezza (eds), *La FIOM dalle origini al fascismo, 1901-1926*, Bari, 1978, pp. 110-11.
46. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 91.
47. Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', pp. 113-14.
48. Musso, *Gli operai*, p. 91.
49. S. Ortaggi, 'Padronato e classe operaia a Torino negli anni 1906-1911', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1979, p. 344.
50. Musso, *Gli operai*, p. 78.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
52. M. Revelli, 'Intervista a M. Garino', MS, Turin, 1975, p. 9. Parts of Revelli's transcript have appeared in print. See, M. Revelli, 'Maurizio Garino: Storia di un anarchico', *Mezzosecolo*, vol. 7, 1981, pp. 51-80; R. Armeni and P. Piva, *Noi vivremo del lavoro*, Rome 1980, pp. 35-45.
53. P. Avrich, *The Modern School Movement*, Princeton, 1980; Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 20.
54. Ortaggi, 'Padronato', p. 342. For the transformation of the working class see, G. Berta, 'Dalla manifattura al sistema di fabbrica: razionalizzazione e conflitti di lavoro', in *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, vol. 1, Turin, 1978.
55. Ortaggi, 'Padronato', p. 343.
56. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 35-6.

57. Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', pp. 74–6.
58. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 98–100.
59. A. Riosa, *Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario in Italia*, Bari, 1976, pp. 314–15; Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', p. 103; Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 141.
60. Riosa, *Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario*, pp. 247, 251–2; Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', p. 82.
61. *La Guerra Sociale*, Turin, 1 May 1908.
62. G. Cerrito, *L'antimilitarismo anarchico in Italia nel primo ventennio del secolo*, Pistoia, 1968; A. Heevey and E. Geraets, 'Domela Nieuwenhuis e il movimento anarchico italiano 1890–1910', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1994, pp. 65–94.
63. Antonioli, 'Dalla lega', p. 56.
64. Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', pp. 103, 106, 109.
65. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 100.
66. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 259.
67. D. La Valle, *Le origini della classe operaia della Fiat*, Rome, 1976, pp. 54–7.
68. G. Bertolo (ed.), *Torino tra le guerre. Cultura e vita quotidiana in Borgo San Paolo*, Turin, 1978. This team of researchers produced a wealth of articles and books throughout the 1980s, see for example, D. Jalla, "'perché mio papà era un ferroviere . . ." Una famiglia operaia torinese dei primi del novecento', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1980, pp. 37–65; Musso, *Gli operai*; D. Jalla and S. Musso, *Territorio, fabbrica e cultura operaia a Torino*, Cuneo, 1981; D. Jalla, 'Le quartier comme territoire et comme representation: les "barrières" ouvrières de Turin au début du XX^e siècle', *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 118, 1982, pp. 79–97; G. Levi, *Cultura e associazioni operaie in Piemonte: 1890–1985*, Milan, 1975; L. Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory. The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, Cambridge, 1987, English translation of Italian, *Torino operaia e fascismo*, Bari, 1984; M. Gribaudi, *Mondo operaio e mito operaio*, Turin, 1987. Gribaudi is sceptical of the strength or longevity of suburban communitarianism. Also see, D.H. Bell, *Sesto San Giovanni: Workers, Culture and Politics in an Italian Town, 1880–1922*, New Brunswick, 1986.

For an overview of the historiographical debate about the Torinese working class see, S. Musso, 'Torino e il movimento operaio torinese. Il dibattito storiografico', in M. Antonioli, M. Bergamaschi and L. Ganapini (eds), *Milano operaia dall'800 a oggi*, vol. 2, Milan, 1994, pp. 375–95.

69. Musso, *Gli operai*, p. 102.
70. Castronovo, *Storia delle regioni*, pp. 249-50; Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 22.
71. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 7; V. Mandracchi, *Torino*, Bari, 1983, pp. 224-5.
72. Levi, *Torino tra le guerre*, p. 5.
73. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 13.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 12. In rather a similar situation in the Milanese industrial suburb of Sesto San Giovanni, Bell noted the importance of anarchists from Piombino and Carrara, see Bell, *Sesto San Giovanni*, p. 32.
76. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 45.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
79. Musso, *Gli operai*, p. 103.
80. Levi, *Torino tra le guerre*, p. 22.
81. Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', p. 82; Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 204; *Il Grido del Popolo*, Turin, 23 May 1914, p. 2. For turn-of-the-century associational life, see R. Allio, B. Gera, G. Levi, R. Monteleone and G. Oliva, *Il tempo del riposo. Squarci di vita sociale del proletariato torinese di fine secolo*, Milan, 1991.
82. G. Levi, 'Associazionismo operaio a Torino (1890-1926)', in Agosti and Bravo, *Storia del movimento operaio*, vol. 2, p. 487.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 486. For a general discussion of drinking and Italian socialism before 1914, see R. Monteleone, 'Socialisti o "Ciucialiter"? Il PSI e il destino delle osterie tra socialità e alcoolismo', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1985, pp. 3-22.
84. M. Montagnana, *Ricordi di un operaio torinese (sotto la guida di Gramsci)*, Rome, 1952, p. 19.
85. C. Ravera, *Diario di trent'anni*, Rome, 1972, pp. 34-5.
86. Levi, 'Associazionismo operaio', p. 500.
87. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 13-14.
88. Levi, 'Associazionismo operaio', p. 521. On the reading preferences of Italian workers see M. G. Rosada, 'Biblioteche popolari e politica culturale del PSI tra Ottocento e Novecento', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, 2nd series, vol. 1, nos 2-3, 1977, pp. 259-88; F. Andreucci, 'Fra il pianto e il riso. La satira e l'umorismo dei socialisti italiani nel periodo della Seconda Internazionale', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1982, pp. 3-28; R. Fedi, *Cultura letteraria e società in Italia unita*, Pisa, 1984; C. Lacaita, *Sviluppo e cultura: alle origini dell'Italia industriale*, Milan, 1984; G. Turi, 'Intellettuali

- e propaganda nel movimento socialista', in S. Soldani and G. Turi (eds), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, Bologna, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 459–501.
89. Levi, 'Associazionismo operaio', p. 521. Such reading preferences are traced throughout Italy, see M. Degli'Innocenti, *Geografia e istituzioni del socialismo italiano 1892–1914*, Naples, 1983, pp. 31–65.
 90. B. Santhià, *Con Gramsci all'Ordine nuovo*, Rome, 1956, pp. 41–2.
 91. M. Degli'Innocenti, *Il socialismo italiano e la guerra di Libia*, Rome, 1976, p. 248; Santhià, p. 42. On *Rompete le file* see, L. Bettini, *Bibliografia dell'anarchismo*, vol. 1, Florence, 1972, pp. 201–2.
 92. G. Sapelli, 'Romita, Giuseppe', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 4, Rome, 1978, p. 376; Nejrotti, 'La stampa operaia', pp. 443–4.
 93. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 262; Santhià, pp. 26–37.
 94. *Volontà*, Ancona, 4 March 1914, p. 3.
 95. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 17.
 96. *Volontà*, Ancona, 1 November 1913, pp. 3–4.
 97. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 258. See the similar role of the anarchists' and syndicalists' *osteria* in Sesto San Giovanni, Bell, *Sesto San Giovanni*, p. 32.
 98. M. G. Rosada, *Le università popolari*, Rome, 1975, pp. 39, 75.
 99. *La Scuola Moderna. Bollettino Semestriale. Editto dal circolo di cultura "Francesco Ferrer"*, Turin, November–April 1916–17, p. 7.
 100. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
 101. C. Levy, 'Socialism and the Educated Middle Classes in Western Europe, 1870–1914', in R. Eyerman, L. G. Svensson and T. Söderqvist (eds), *Intellectuals, Universities, and the State in Modern Western Societies*, Berkeley, 1987, pp. 176–9; C. Levy, 'Conclusion: historiography and the New Class', in C. Levy (ed.), *Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880–1914*, London, 1987, p. 280.
 102. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 27–8.
 103. Rosada, *Le università*, p. 130; Degli'Innocenti, *Geografia*, p. 99. For a general discussion of the educational theories and Italian anarchism see, F. Codello, *Educazione e anarchismo. L'idea educativa nel movimento anarchico italiano (1900–1926)*, Ferrara, 1995.
 104. M. Puccini, 'L'università popolare e la Scuola Moderna', *Volontà*, vol. 25, 1971, p. 202; Rosada, *Le università popolari*, p. 133.
 105. *L'Università Popolare*, Milan, October 1909, p. 295.
 106. *La Scuola Moderna*, p. 8.
 107. Rosada, *Le università popolari*, p. 167.

108. Puccini, 'L'università popolare', p.302.
109. *La Scuola Moderna*, p. 4.
110. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 32.
111. L. Barrow, *Independent Spirits. Spiritualism and English Plebeians, 1850–1910*, London, 1986.
112. Rosada, 'Biblioteche popolari', pp. 283–8; Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 32.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–4.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–4; *La Scuola Moderna*, p. 5. For a survey of socialist theatre in Turin and elsewhere see, Ridolfi, *La nascita*, pp. 236–42. Also see, G. Isola, 'La ribalta socialista in Italia tra Otto e Novecento', *XX Secolo*, Vol. 1, nos 2–3, 1991, pp. 387–411.
115. *La Scuola Moderna*, p. 3. Football was considered a middle-class sport by the left until the Great War, whereas cycling was embraced with enthusiasm. On the role of cycling in Italian socialism see, S. Pivato, 'L'associazionismo del tempo libero nella cultura socialista: i ciclisti rossi', in D. Menozzi (ed.), *Gli uomini rossi di Romagna. Gli anni della fondazione del PSI (1892)*, Manduria, 1994, pp. 281–93.
116. *La Scuola Moderna*, p. 3.
117. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 37.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
119. P. C. Masini, *Antonio Gramsci e L'Ordine Nuovo visto da un liberario*, Milan, 1956, p. 20.
120. C. Bermani, *L'altra cultura*, Milan, 1970, pp. 3–16; D. Montaldi, *Militanti politici di base*, Turin, 1971, pp. 55–73, 92, 99, 102–40, 164–6, 311–20, 324–9.
121. ACS, CPC, 485, 'Sobrito, Cesare'.
122. ACS, CPC, 3053, 'Margarita, Illario'.
123. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 65.
124. I. Margarita, *L'Avvenire Anarchico*, Pisa, 20 October 1910.
125. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 31, 36.
126. ACS, CPC, 15, 'Acutis, Anselmo'.
127. ACS, CPC, 3342, 'Mombello, Mario'.
128. ACS, CPC, 3134, 'Massa, Giuseppe'.
129. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 6.
130. ACS, CPC, 2290, 'Garino, Maurizio', Report of Prefect, 30 March 1914.
131. A. Andreasi, 'Ferrero, Pietro', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 2, Rome, 1976, p. 339; A. Dal Pont and L. Zocchi, *Pionieri dell'Italia democratica*, Rome, 1966, pp. 103–8.

132. ACS, CPC, 3210, Mosso, Pietro Carlo; ACS, CPC, 1687, De Bartolomeis, Nonio; ACS, CPC, 2289, Garinei, Italo.
133. IISH, Luigi Fabbri Collection, see correspondence between Fabbri and De Bartolomeis, 1916-17.
134. Luigi Fabbri Collection, De Bartolomeis to Fabbri, 24 October 1916.
135. *Ibid.*
136. *Volontà*, 14 March 1914, pp. 2-3.
137. R. Martinelli, 'Bianco, Vincenzo', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 1, Rome, 1975, pp. 293-5; G. Isola, 'Terrini, Arturo', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 5, Rome, 1978, p. 47.
138. R. Martinelli, 'Parodi, Giuseppe', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 4, Rome, 1978, p. 54.
139. R. Martinelli, 'Oberti, Antonio', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 4, Rome, 1978, pp. 4-5; G. Sapelli, 'Santhia, Battista', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 4, Rome, 1978, pp. 504-5.
140. R. Martinelli, 'Montagnana, Mario', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 3, Rome, 1977, p. 500; Montagnana, *Ricordi*, pp. 52-3; Levi, *Torino*, p. 18.
141. R. Martinelli, 'Pastore, Oberti', Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 4, Rome, 1978, pp. 66-9; T. Detti, 'Pagella, Vincenzo', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 4, Rome, 1978, p. 25.
142. T. Detti, 'Barberis, Francesco', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 1, Rome, 1975, pp. 167-70.
143. A. Andreasi, 'Bruno Buozzi e il movimento sindacale italiano', *Annali della Biblioteca G. G. Feltrinelli*, vol. 14, 1973, p. 384. Also see A. Forbice, *La forza tranquilla. Bruno Buozzi, sindacalista riformista*, Milan, 1994, pp. 20-7.
144. Sapelli, G., 'Romita, Giuseppe', Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 4, Rome, 1978, pp. 376-7.
145. A. Andreasi, 'Guarnieri, Mario', Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 2, Rome, 1976, pp. 604-5.
146. A. Andreasi, 'Colombino, Emilio', Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 2, Rome, 1976, pp. 72-3.
147. A. Andreasi, 'Castagno, Eugenio', Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano*, vol. 2, Rome, 1975, p. 530.
148. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 213; Ortaggi, 'Padronato', pp. 362-3.
149. Antonioli, 'Dalla lega', p. 71; Adler, *Italian Industrialists*, pp. 64-5.

150. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 216.
151. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15. This is also stressed by Simonetta Ortaggi Cammarosano, *Il prezzo del lavoro. Torino e l'industria italiana nel primo '900*, Turin, 1988, pp. 55-6.
152. Berta, 'Dalla manifattura', pp. 1099-101.
153. S. Ortaggi, 'Cottimi e produttività nell'industria del primo Novecento', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 7, 1978, p. 57.
154. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 57.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 40. But there was also the practical reason that bicycles were still relatively rare amongst workers and trams kept poor schedules so that employees needed extra time to get to their factories. Ortaggi Cammarosano, *Il prezzo*, pp. 152-3.
157. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 76.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
159. Antonioli, 'Dalla lega', p. 73.
160. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 54.
161. M. Salvadori, *Il movimento cattolico a Torino (1911-15)*, Turin, 1969, pp. 162-81.
162. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 42-3.
163. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 217.
164. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 53.
165. Castronovo, *Storia delle regioni*, p. 253.
166. Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', p. 131; Forbice, *La forza*, p. 131.
167. Antonioli, 'Dalla lega', p. 76.
168. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
169. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino'; Adler, *Italian Industrialists*, pp. 76-7.
170. Antonioli, 'Dalla lega', p. 77.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 78. For the weaknesses of the Unione Sindacale Milanese see, M. Antonioli, *Azione diretta e organizzazione operaia. Sindacalismo rivoluzionario e anarchismo tra la fine dell'Ottocento e il fascismo*, Manduria, 1990, pp. 282-99.
172. Antonioli, 'Dalla lega', p. 78.
173. Andreasi, 'Bruno Buozzi', p. 339.
174. *Volontà*, Ancona, 22 Nov. 1913, p. 3.
175. *Volontà*, Ancona, 20 Dec. 1913, p. 4.
176. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 269.
177. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
179. *Ibid.*, p. 259; G. Oliva, 'Un'iniziativa antimilitarista alla vigilia della

- Grande Guerra. La "Cassa per il soldo del soldato", *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1989, pp. 257-60.
180. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 274.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 273; Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', p. 135.
182. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 60.
183. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 60-2.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
185. Bellomi, 'Lotta di classe', p. 135; Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 274.
186. *Ibid.*, p. 282. The Red Week cost the lives of sixteen demonstrators and one policeman, see M. Murtaugh, *Italian Labor in Protest, 1904-1914*, New York, 1991, p. 206.

Gramsci's Apprenticeship and the War Years

As details about Antonio Gramsci's life are readily available elsewhere, I will not rehearse his biography. Rather, in this chapter, I will highlight those cultural, social and political formative influences during his political apprenticeship (1911-19) that brought him into direct contact with syndicalist and libertarian politics and ideas.¹ I will also demonstrate the elective affinities between Gramsci's unorthodox Marxism, anarchism and syndicalism.

The first and perhaps decisive influence on Gramsci's politics must be his lower middle-class Sardinian origins. Gramsci came from the lower echelons of the Italian intelligentsia. He was born into a rural southern family of state bureaucrats, which, to the unfamiliar eye might, have appeared to share the same misery as their peasant neighbours, but the ability to read and write, and even send a son to *liceo* and possibly onwards to a professional career, made them the object of envy and resentment.²

Gramsci's political coming of age occurred just as the first election under near universal manhood suffrage (1913) signalled the crisis of post-*Risorgimento* elitist liberalism.³ His cultural apprenticeship at the University of Turin (1911-15) introduced him to a particularly unorthodox Marx.⁴ However, when Gramsci arrived in Turin as a financially embarrassed scholarship student, his politics had been little affected by Marxism. They were instead a mixture of Sardinian nationalism and revolutionary syndicalist rhetoric; for it was the revolutionary syndicalists and their anti-protectionist and anti-transformist sentiments that made them such natural allies of southern and insular socialists. Gramsci became acquainted with many leading Sardinian radicals through his older brother while attending *liceo* in Cagliari.⁵ In 1913 he signed a public manifesto that protested against the injustices visited upon Sardinia by the protectionist and imperialist Italian state.⁶ Its promoters included leading Sardinian syndicalists such as Attilio Deffenu and Nicolò Fancello, the Mazzinian-oriented syndicalist leader of the railwaymen, Gino Corradetti, and Sebastiano Satta, Gramsci's favourite Sardinian poet whose famous poem about the

miners' strike at Bugerru in 1904, celebrated the conflict that set off the first 'syndicalist' national general strike, his poetry subtly confusing 'the views of Sardism and syndicalism'.⁷ Finally, as a devoted reader of Milan's syndicalist journal, *Il Viandante*, Gramsci was fully alive to the theoretical and cultural debates within the mainland's fissiparous movement.⁸

Gramsci became a Marxist socialist at university when positivism was passé, when a majority of his intellectual contemporaries imbibed anti-socialist nationalism and philosophical idealism, and when, therefore, most politically minded students were opposed to the labour movement.⁹ His Marxism was refracted through the unorthodox lenses of *La Voce*, the journal of the generation of 1914.¹⁰ Like the Florentine journal, his teachers at the University of Turin emphasized Croce and Gentile, and their philosophical influences were important in shaping his heterodox politics. Salvemini and Turin's free-trade economists infused in him a sober, even puritanical liberal spirit, which lashed out at the 'sham' liberalism of the Giolittian regime.¹¹ These influences, in effect, dignified and deepened his earlier Sard syndicalist rage (indeed *La Voce* praised syndicalism as a form of populist pedagogical politics), but they also ingrained in him an appreciation of Anglo-Saxon civilization with its protective membrane of common law.¹²

Croce and Gentile lampooned the self-satisfied evolutionists of the Italian Socialist Party. Although both philosophers had been attracted to Marxism as a scientific doctrine in the 1890s, by the early 1900s they bitterly opposed its political objectives.¹³ These two philosophers shaped Gramsci's state of mind rather than his politics. It may be argued that their criticisms of positivism were adapted by Gramsci when he began to formulate his extremely voluntaristic methodology and political philosophy. However, this subtle separation of scientific concerns from partisan politics never went down well within the Italian socialist movement, and it seems difficult to imagine how working-class readers digested his commentary and anthologies of Gentile and Croce, which he published in Torinese newspapers during the war. We do know that educated middle-class cadres and leaders within the party detested him for it, accusing him of the sins of 'idealism' and even worse 'Bergsonianism', in reference to his interest in another anti-positivist, the French philosopher Henri Bergson. Nor, for that matter did Gramsci's break with positivist Marxism endear him to syndicalist and anarchist intellectuals who were not very different in cultural formation from their political competitors within the PSI.

Idealism allowed Gramsci to transcend the boundaries of Second Internationalist socialism. This strand in the prewar European New Left stressed spontaneity, youth, extreme scepticism towards the state and

socialist organizations tarnished by intimacy with the state. A voluntarist philosophy undermined the basis upon which Marxism had become an orthodoxy, a scientific socialism, since the 1890s. Gramsci recalled in his own national context being 'part of a movement of moral and intellectual reform which in Italy stemmed from Benedetto Croce, and whose first premise was that man can and should live without the help of religion – I mean, of course, without revealed religion, positivist religion, mythological religion, or whatever other brand one cares to name',¹⁴ but, perhaps it would be misleading to assume pride of place for Gramsci's 'Hegelian', or 'Gentilean', Marxism amongst the young Italian socialists; it certainly did not affect Amadeo Bordiga, the Neapolitan civil engineer, whose 'mechanical', or perhaps better still 'geometrical' anti-parliamentary Marxism, was so significant in recruiting youth to the FGS.¹⁵

Of the three students Gramsci met before the war only Palmiro Togliatti, son of a prosperous Piedmontese educated middle-class family, transferred to Sardinia for reasons of work, could be said to share fully Gramsci's mental outlook.¹⁶ Umberto Terracini, of Piedmontese Jewish professional background, and Angelo Tasca, the only one of the four from manual working-class background, were less enthusiastic.¹⁷ Tasca, in fact, shared many of the assumptions of the positivist socialists. His father was a railwayman, and although his family life was unhappy, he succeeded, he recalled, in escaping manual work for the university. Tasca hailed from the trade union culture of the skilled worker, which formed the backbone of Torinese reformism, but as I noted in Chapter Two, working-class reformism was not isolated from the libertarianism of the 'second culture'. Tasca's formative reading included Arturo Labriola, he participated actively in the *soldo al soldato* anti-militarist campaign which led up to the Red Week in 1914, he was something of a supporter of Alfredo Polledro (the syndicalist journalist discussed in Chapter Two), and when Polledro became an interventionist Tasca tried to prevent his expulsion from the local party section. From his student days Tasca retained a fascination with the utopian socialists, and within the Italian context was particularly taken by the history of the First International and the Partito Operaio.¹⁸

Tasca introduced Gramsci to the Torinese labour movement, and even before he joined the party in 1914, Gramsci accompanied Tasca to the socially mixed Socialist Party's city centre section. For a young intellectual these gatherings were important, perhaps more for the opportunity to speak to young radicalized workers than as intellectual stimulation *per se*. Gramsci was present during the two great strikes in 1912–13 and the Red Week in 1914. These events left a vivid impression upon him, particularly in the later positions he would adopt towards local working-class

anarchists. The meetings at the city centre socialist section were more to his taste than vast, turbulent demonstrations. He always detested crowds and craved the intimacy of small groups, what the French syndicalists called the *noyau*, within which he could apply the Socratic pedagogical principles he had learnt from Gentile and Lombardo Radice that could create conscious socialist militants.¹⁹ 'Making socialists', to employ William Morris's term, was always intimately intertwined with the broader objectives of winning elections, strikes or revolutions. He recalled the night life of the city centre section when a group of young socialists would leave their meetings with their leader (Angelo Tasca) and disrupt the silence of the city streets with vibrant, furious conversations. He remembered the intimacy of a small group of youngsters awaiting greater events, dissatisfied with the rather boring reformism of the Torinese party leadership.²⁰

Politics and Journalism

Gramsci's decision to drop-out of university in 1915 and forsake his *laurea* (degree) marked his permanent full-time involvement in socialist politics, and the resolution of a very serious mental collapse, which, unfortunately was only one of several in his lifetime. Just as his comrade Palmiro Togliatti was always extremely proud of his association with the University of Turin, and especially his two degrees, which were displayed so prominently in the post-World War Two Italian parliament's *Who's Who*, so Gramsci boasted of his decision to enter politics via journalism.²¹

Therefore, Gramsci's journalistic career can be said to have commenced in December 1915.²² There were some earlier university pieces on futurism, and of course Gramsci's disastrous brief foray into the war intervention debate in the autumn of 1914, when he came very close to a complete endorsement of what he considered to be Mussolini's position, and which effectively ostracized him from the anti-war Torinese party for the next year.²³ Mussolini, of course, was more important to Gramsci than he might have wanted to admit. Later Mussolini represented Gramsci's *duce* of 'subversive socialism', but before 1915 he was attractive because he broke all the rules of the game. Mussolini's popularity owed a great deal to the intellectual and moral support he mobilized outside the party proper. He flirted with the anarchists, the republicans and the *Unione Sindacale*. He appealed to younger impatient workers, that first generation raised in the newer and drabber suburbs of Milan and Turin. He became the politician of youth. The socialist youth movement became his loyal power base, providing 10,000 new recruits to socialism within a few years. He sought

his intellectual sustenance outside the party traditions. As editor of *Avanti!* and his theoretical journal *L'Utopia*, a species of anti-*Critica Sociale*, Mussolini played host to the Lavoceans, the wilder Sorelians, syndicalist organizers, and the individualist anarchists. He was searching frenetically for a lever from which he could overturn the domination of the party by the pioneers of the 1890s. But his unfocused activism would have ended inconsequentially, just as it ended for the syndicalist professor, Arturo Labriola and the socialist lawyer, Enrico Ferri, if the reformist GPS had not been torn apart before the war. Gramsci placed a great deal of his youthful hopes on Mussolini, and in 1915 when he retired to his books, and especially the works of Antonio Labriola, he began to realize his errors. Demagogic politics, even of the inventive sort, never attracted him again. We learn from his early writings that like Tasca he, too, had been taken in by Turin's 'little Mussolinis': Nanni, Polledro and Mario Gioda, the anarchist, until they joined the interventionist camp.²⁴

Journalism for this frail, rather crowd-shy hunchback, created his profile within the socialist movement; and for those curious neo-idealist bourgeois academics and *letterati* who knew and praised his invective pen: through journalism Gramsci cut his enemies down to size. On the other hand, although his journalism was public, he seemed to enjoy editorial anonymity. Perhaps his ill-fated flirtation with Mussolini's politics and his accompanying pyrotechnical journalism left him permanently chastened. Gramsci's first positions were as member of the editorial board of *Avanti!*'s Piedmontese page, writing local news and theatre reviews, as contributor to the local socialist newspaper, *Il Grido del Popolo* (from September 1917 to December 1918 its editor-in-chief), and contributor to the newly created Piedmont edition of *Avanti!* from the end of 1918. During these years Gramsci developed his characteristically pungent style, criticizing the local clerically dominated city council, his erstwhile interventionist socialist and libertarian comrades and the nationalist spirit generally, the foibles of the wartime Italian petite bourgeoisie, and the corruption and inefficiency of the Italian state.²⁵

By 1918, with a good deal of the local socialist leadership jailed due to the *fatti* (riots) in August, 1917 and the military rout at Caporetto that autumn, Gramsci ran *Il Grido del Popolo* virtually singlehandedly. His activity was intense; writing two or three articles a day; writing theatre reviews and editing a newspaper under extremely difficult circumstances. Angelo Tasca recalled in his diary a man of prodigious activity, infirm body and an iron will.²⁶ With the completed critical edition of Gramsci's early writings it now seems certain that Gramsci was rather more widely known than previously believed.²⁷ One of the most interesting conclusions

is that Gramsci, while remaining a theoretician, employed the daily concerns of Turin's labour and cooperative movements as laboratories to develop and illustrate his more complex theoretical conceptions. These rediscovered articles demonstrate how many of the themes of *L'Ordine Nuovo*, which highlight the (admittedly exaggerated) 'prefigurative' power of the factory councils, were originally developed during a discussion of that reformist institution, the cooperative, in 1916 – one or two years before Gramsci began to promote the 'sovietist', Western European or incipient Torinese versions of council communism.

In previously unknown articles written between the two Russian revolutions, Gramsci was openly anti-Jacobin and anti-statist. He criticized orthodox Second Internationalist socialism not only for its tactical errors and national-patriotic corruption (Lenin's line) but more importantly its theoretical positivism and statism, which were considered by Gramsci to be alien to the spirit, if not always the letter, of Karl Marx's texts. But it is an anti-statism quite alien theoretically to the tradition of anarchism: a Marxist anti-statism, relying heavily upon Antonio Labriola's intellectual legacy. Therefore, before I turn to a discussion of his early articles on cooperation which foreshadow his later council writings, a brief digression is in order to understand the linkages between Antonio Labriola and Gramsci.

Antonio Gramsci and Antonio Labriola

Gramsci's discussion of Labriola grew out of his initial re-evaluation of the *Risorgimento*; and if any of the deceased are given decent eulogies, they are surely the intellectuals of the *destra storica* ('the historic right'), whose emphasis on the pedagogical nature of the modern state's parliamentary system and its honest and efficient civil service stimulating the active participation of citizens in its affairs, is assimilated into socialist theory.²⁸ Labriola was an intellectual link between Spaventa, De Sanctis and the socialist movement. Received opinion pictures Labriola as a misunderstood genius, whose Hegelianized Marxism would have saved the socialists from their positivist buffoonery if only his message had been heeded. But it was just Labriola's substratum of Neapolitan Hegelianism and his profession of university professor that joins, rather than separates, his variation of politics as pedagogy to so many other politicized intellectuals of his era.²⁹

Labriola's Marxism had four main aspects to it: politics as culture, intellectuals as *maestri*, as the brains if not the public leadership behind socialist political strategy; a universalizing philosophy that lent coherence

to culture; and political organization as the realization of philosophy.³⁰ Several writers have demonstrated how Labriola's ideas transformed Gramsci's earlier Gentilean political philosophy into his more materialist Marxism of the war years and the *biennio rosso*.³¹

According to Gramsci, cultural hegemony preceded every major revolution. It had been the inability and unwillingness of Italian intellectuals to abandon their elitist cosmopolitanism, which left the masses, so to speak, headless. Like Labriola, Gramsci relied on working-class institutions immersed in daily life, not directly controlled by the socialist party, to raise popular beliefs to a universal scientific world view.³² Labriola's support of the Fasci Siciliani in the 1890s bears significant similarities with Gramsci's endorsement of rank-and-file movements in Torinese industry during and after the war. Both, to anticipate my argument, were able to work with proletarian anarchists. Like Gramsci, Labriola differentiated between 'Jacobinical *capi*', the *spostati della borghesia* (bourgeois drop-outs), the intellectual proletariat, and the rank-and-file anarchist workers whom Labriola had helped during a Roman builders strike in the early 1890s. Although he was capable of differentiating between the 'reasonable' anarchism of Malatesta and the terrorists' bombing and assassination campaigns, he never could take the intellectual premises of anarchism very seriously.³³

Gramsci's and Labriola's Marxism can be considered unorthodox because of a novel interpretation of praxis: both men based the superiority of Marxism over other forms of socialism on its ability to forge a world view that required no borrowing from other philosophical systems. If this caused Labriola and Gramsci to fight against the marriage of positivism and Marxism and thereby earn accolades in our day as open-ended Marxists, they also tended to deny the intellectual validity of other systems of socialism.

However, Gramsci's introduction to the thought of Antonio Labriola may have come from a heterodox source. During Gramsci's last year at university (1915), Umberto Bartoli, his linguistics professor, introduced him to a professor of philosophy, Annibale Pastore. In later life Pastore took credit for guiding Gramsci from Gentile to Labriola. According to Eugenio Garin and Norberto Bobbio this is probably exaggerated, but it was during Pastore's tutorials that Gramsci met another student of Pastore's, the anarchist technician, soon to be wartime aviator, Pietro Mosso (see Chapter Two) who would supply Gramsci with important material on Taylorism in 1919 and 1920, and in many respects played an absolutely vital role in concocting that curious cocktail of libertarian productivism that characterized *ordinovisto* ideology (see Chapter Five).³⁴

Cooperation and Socialism: Origins of Gramsci's Council Communism³⁵

The Torinese socialist cooperative movement emerged from politically moderate mutual aid societies in the late nineteenth century. It was the oldest and certainly one of the city's most consistently visible working-class institution. The *Alleanza Cooperativa Torinese* (ACT) ran retail shops and pharmacies that provided a working and lower middle-class clientele with fairly cheap, decent products. With most of the Torinese retail trade (as in Italy generally) subdivided into innumerable small shops, its concentrated power had notable effects upon the local market although not with the same effect as the large wholesalers who shaped the trade between producers and shopkeepers.³⁶

With the onset of the war and the manifest incapacity of the local or national authorities to provide urban workers with adequate or reasonably reliable supplies of basic necessities, the ACT's role increased and became the target for attacks in the clerical and interventionist press. The greatest threat to the ACT was surmounted in September 1917 when interventionist socialists were roundly beaten during elections held for the administrative board, so that just a few weeks after the riots of 1917 and mass arrests of its leadership, the socialists remained firmly in control of this vital working-class organization.³⁷

Gramsci's articles on cooperation began as a polemic in his column 'Sotto la Mole', against the rather lame clerical accusations of war-profiteering and trading with German pharmaceutical companies on the ACT's part.³⁸ Rapidly Gramsci widened the focus from political invective (with Gramsci's sarcasm at its most poisonous) to a general discussion of a socialist cooperative alternative to the marketplace, and more broadly about how the transition from capitalism to socialism was envisaged. First of all, Gramsci is responding to matters of local concern, especially the city council's new but rather powerless consumer trade board, established to curb profiteering and iron-out problems of distribution. This, Gramsci argued, smelled of demagogic manipulation, as the Catholic party could ill afford to alienate local shopkeepers and wholesalers but, at the same time, desired to remain reasonably popular amongst sections of the disgruntled working class.

Gramsci proposed that the board's powers be broadened from observation and moral suasion to replacing the wholesalers as the city's chief provisioning agent. In effect, Gramsci adopted a commonly held programme of various prewar moderate European municipal socialists, and, like the gas and water reformists, he did not intend to launch a direct

assault on the small shopkeeper but rather make acceptable centrally, and hopefully, a socialist-controlled wholesaling agency, thereby breaking or neutralizing the influence of clerical or nationalist politics upon them, diverting historically persistent outbursts of popular anger (to reoccur, as we shall see in Chapter Four, in the cost-of-living riots in the spring of 1919) away from these most vulnerable and convenient targets to a more difficult-to-identify or conceptualize capitalist market mechanism.

Monsù botégari (the small shopkeeper in Torinese dialect), Gramsci wrote in an article in 1917, caught between wholesaler and socialist cooperatives, was a tragic and transient social actor,³⁹ but as socialist cooperatives could not conquer the market instantaneously, the gradually disappearing small shopkeeper, with tightened belt and pinched pocket-book, was even worthy of some compassion. On the one hand the historical pattern of the capitalist infiltration of the market-place, Gramsci wrote in October 1916, which had been affecting production for the past century, was beginning to be felt within distribution with the substitution of artisanal, of cottage industry retailing, by the great industrial enterprise.⁴⁰ On the other hand, as he wrote in the famous article on the Russian Revolution, 'The Revolution against Capital', the evolutionary laws of capitalism had been accelerated by the unprecedented effects of the world war.⁴¹

In 1916, however, one did not have to adopt Russian examples. He noted, for instance, that the German rationing system rather than Italian voluntary accords and reliance upon the market-place had more equitably distributed rare items. Even British chain stores were praised as modern rational capitalist alternatives to the Italian reliance upon inefficient and 'parasitical' intermediaries and retailers.⁴²

Gramsci's intervention in the debate on cooperatives reached its climax in a newly attributed article, 'Socialismo e cooperazione' ('Socialism and Cooperation') (30 October 1916) – published in the ACT's journal, *L'Alleanza Cooperativa*.⁴³ Here Gramsci recapitulates his defence of socialist cooperatives but also launches into a complex theoretical discussion, simplified for the cooperators, by these easily comprehensible references.

Gramsci makes it abundantly clear that socialism will be productivist or nothing. Consumer cooperatives were not, nor could they be, central to these politics. Socialism, he wrote, 'is not simply to solve the problem of distribution of finished products. On the contrary, the moral justification of our struggle, and for the revolution this struggle will bring about, comes from the conviction, acquired by the proletariat through its critique of the existing means of production, that collectivism will serve to accelerate

the rhythm of production itself, by eliminating all those artificial factors which limit productivity'.⁴⁴ Modern capitalism had been such a productivist modernizing agent, sweeping aside 'feudal vestiges', replacing smaller industrial entrepreneurs by joint-stock companies that

are nothing other than industrial co-operatives, formed with the aim of exploiting capital more profitably and using it more efficiently, represent[ing] the furthest that the bourgeois system can go towards eliminating the capitalist monad, towards separating the *technical* element in production from the provision of *capital*.⁴⁵

Gramsci the productivist, the Sorelian, or as some have argued, the Proudhonian moralist, was encouraged by the emergence of a mechanized Italian 'future city'. Modern capitalist enterprise was

a social experiment of the greatest interest for socialism, because (it served) to demonstrate ever more clearly the truth that the capitalist is by no means necessary; that the spirit of initiative, the vital motive force of the economy, is not deadened by the fact that the managers and technical staff of a firm are mere salaried workers, without a personal interest in the profits, down to the last farthing.⁴⁶

Gramsci anticipated how cooperative forms of production would be more productive than capitalist predecessors but he cautioned his readers that consumer cooperatives, while being a necessary ingredient in the socialist programme, were not central. However, they functioned both as a minimalist demand mobilizing many non-socialists against the grosser forms of speculation, and as a useful mechanism in socialist distribution, especially in a nation such as Italy where shopkeepers and peasants were important factors in the market-place. Socialist cooperatives must, he wrote, arise from the free activity of the proletariat, outside the meddlesome and corrupting influences of bourgeois legislation or the state. Socialist cooperatives were socially useful to the lower classes, otherwise they were, Gramsci wrote, protectionist cooperatives, parasitical organizations that gave rise to a group of privileged workers, who were successful at freeing themselves partially from capitalist exploitation, but whose actions were harmful to their class and costly to production generally.⁴⁷

The general tenor of the discussion is linked to his earlier connections with free-trade socialists and syndicalists in Sardinia and Turin. Previously, Salvemini had been a major influence, and during the war Gramsci organized an issue of *Il Grido del Popolo* devoted to free trade and socialism. Free trade, Gramsci believed, would help to lessen the north/south divide

but it was also central to the definition of his form of socialism. At the very end of the war Gramsci explained his free-tradism in rather defensive tones. Comparing his programme to President Wilson's, he explained that free trade was part of socialism's minimal programme.

Socialists are today free-traders because their doctrine recognises that in the free development of capitalist society free trade is a revolutionary force against the outmoded forms of production and exchange and that it establishes political structures more suitable for the development of its potential: without economic liberty, political liberty is a Giolittian swindle.⁴⁸

This is why Gramsci was attracted to the English radical liberals who founded the Union for Democratic Control, and particularly Norman Angell, whose wartime writings, Gramsci claimed, showed that protectionist state socialism or capitalism was a universal evil arising from the inherent demands of the conflict itself. This pervasive Prussianism, Gramsci felt, threatened democratic liberties won before the war. Free trade was not only a guarantor of civil rights, however, it also served as a metaphor for Gramsci's *maximalist programme*.⁴⁹

The previously mentioned 'Socialism and Cooperation' is one of the finer examples of Gramsci's youthful 'free trade' anti-statism. Throughout the war years his fears of Prussianism made him caution socialists against allying themselves with the interventionist war-time state, this became especially pronounced during the debate over whether or not socialists should join the government's Commission on Postwar Reconstruction, established by Prime Minister Orlando.⁵⁰

He believed that 'reform from above' or 'state socialism' had too long been uncritically accepted even within prewar socialism and Marxist theory itself. This becomes evident in an article written on 8 April 1917, when Gramsci argued:

Many of our comrades are still imbued with doctrines concerning the State that were very fashionable in the writings of socialists twenty years ago. These doctrines were constructed in Germany, and perhaps in Germany might still have their justification. It is certain that in Italy, a country even less parliamentary than Germany, due to prevailing political corruption and the lack of parliamentary consciousness, the state is the greatest enemy of citizens (of the majority of citizens) and every growth of its powers, of its activity, of its functions, always equals a growth of corruption, of misery for citizens, of a general lowering of the level of public, economic and moral life.⁵¹

Gramsci's anti-statism is explained through his appropriation of Georges Sorel's notion of a schism, a separation of working-class from bourgeois culture and lifestyles, without him ever fully accepting the Frenchman's entire message, even if Gramscian language is drenched with Sorelian key words.⁵² Such similarities and differences with Sorel are evident in 'Socialism and Cooperation'.

Similarities in their shared belief in a non-Jacobinical transition to socialism based upon the daily experiences of workers in their own trade unions and cooperatives, with Gramsci alluding to Sorel's highly influential book, *L'Avenir socialiste des syndicats*, circulated by Italian left-wing socialist and syndicalist activists before the war.⁵³ This book is significant, too, because it predates Sorel's departure into myth-making and the celebration of violence, and is firmly grounded in his encounters with Eduard Bernstein, Antonio Labriola and the former anarchist Saverio Merlino during the so-called revisionist debate at the turn of the century. All three thinkers were searching for institutions within civil society, which might temper or suppress socialist statism.⁵⁴ And to complete a very interesting circle of reciprocal influences, according to Alfonso Leonetti, Gramsci was an enthusiastic reader of the Webbs' *History of Trades Unions* and their other works: the very examples Sorel used to buttress his arguments in *L'Avenir socialiste des syndicats*.⁵⁵

Gramsci's 'Sorel' was perhaps different from the majority of prewar Italian syndicalists'. The Gramscian transition to socialism relied upon the conscious, reasoned intervention of social actors rather than myths; and Gramsci, needless to say, appreciated the role of education and self-education, even though, as we shall see, he had little time for the efforts of the Università Popolare.⁵⁶ Rather than sharing some syndicalist intellectuals' fascination with the imagery of rude, uneducated worker intellectual-bashers, Gramsci stressed the importance of the life of the mind for all men and women. Gramsci wrote a famous early article of 1916 – 'Socialism and Culture' – in direct response to Enrico Leone the Italian syndicalist theorist and the translator of Sorel's *L'Avenir des syndicats*, and naturally enough a university professor with a fascination for uneducated virtue. He was also one of the chief contributors and editors of the anti-war, and now largely anarchist, organ of the USI, *Guerra di Classe*, of which Gramsci apparently was a close reader.

The fact is that only by degrees, one stage at a time, has humanity acquired consciousness of its own value and won for itself the right to throw off the pattern of organisation imposed on it by minorities at a previous period in history. And this consciousness was formed not under the brutal goad of

physiological necessity but as a result of intelligent reflection, at first by just a few people and later by a whole class, and why certain conditions exist and how best to convert the facts of vassalage into the signals of rebellion and social reconstruction. This means that every revolution has been preceded by an intense labour of criticism, by the diffusion of culture and the spread of culture and the spread of ideas amongst masses of men who are at first resistant, think only of solving their own immediate economic and political problems for themselves, who have not ties of solidarity with others in the same conditions.⁵⁷

For Gramsci the French Enlightenment was just such a period preceding a popular revolutionary upheaval. 'The bayonets of Napoleon's armies', he wrote, 'found their road already smoothed by an invincible army of books and pamphlets that had swarmed out of Paris from the first half of the eighteenth century and had prepared both men and institutions for the necessary renewal.'⁵⁸ Gramsci's cultural 'prefiguration' derived from sources other than Sorel, the previous passage reflected the already noted influence of Francesco De Sanctis and Gramsci published an excerpt from his *Storia della letteratura italiana* in *Il Grido del Popolo* four months later, which bears remarkable similarities to 'Socialism and Culture'.⁵⁹

Gramsci envisaged the cultural critique of capitalism arising within the proletariat's prefigurative institutions. These entities, he notes in 'Socialism and Cooperation', were a link between present and future. And in this other key early article of 1916 Gramsci once again uses an example from the French Revolution.

And just as it was the economic nuclei which had emerged before 1789 – already potentially capitalistic, but suffocated by the remains of feudalism – which made the first breaches in the feudal system; so, equally, the economic nuclei created and nurtured by the proletariat for its own class ends, within the heart of bourgeois society, may become a powerful lever for breaking that society apart.

However, in his analogy with the French Revolution Gramsci does not see a direct relationship between capitalism and the course of the events themselves. Capitalism was as much a cultural as a material phenomenon.

Besides, capitalism is not, in its historical essence, a bourgeois phenomenon. Rather, it is a bourgeois superstructure: the concrete form taken by economic development at some time after the new class's rise to power, resulting from its struggle to establish its roots ever more firmly in the world.⁶⁰

Later, of course, this interpretation, more fully developed and cast in more pessimistic and Jacobinical light, seems to have led Gramsci to qualified support, or at least sympathetic appreciation for the Stalinist revolution from above.⁶¹ In 1916, however, his targets were those positivist socialists and syndicalists who persisted in separating the economic base from the socio-political actors and institutions that embodied the present historical epoch. And Gramsci's understanding of the Marxist conception of praxis filtered through Gentile, modified by his reading of Antonio Labriola, received its first airing in his symbolically apposite article, 'Il Nostro Marx' ('Our Marx') in 1918.⁶² The next day Gramsci published excerpts from Labriola that reveal his knowledge of Labriola's essays on historical materialism.

In the excerpt, 'Le ideologie nel divenire storico', Labriola discussed the relationship between the Reformation and the emergence of capitalism much in the same fashion as Gramsci discussed the relationship of the French Revolution to the emergence of capitalist hegemony in France. For Labriola, anticipating Weber, Luther and particularly Calvin, were the unconscious agents of a capitalist revolution.⁶³

If the economic base could not be separated from the cultural superstructure, neither for the young Gramsci could a science of socialism be detached from the economic prefigurative institutions of civil society. Somehow the superiority of Marxism would be shown without either accepting full-blown relativism or embracing a dictatorial leadership over those social movements that were vital for the transition to socialism.

The proletariat is not an army, it does not have officers, junior officers, corporals and soldiers. Its collective life can never in the least be compared to the collective life of an army [...] Socialists are not officers of the proletarian army, they are part of the proletariat, they are perhaps its consciousness, but just as consciousness cannot be separated from an individual, so socialists are not placed in contrast with the proletariat. They are one, always one, and they do not command but live with the proletariat, just as blood moves and circulates in the veins of a body and is not able to live and move within rubber tubes wrapped around a corpse. They live in the proletariat, and their strength is in this perfect adhesion.⁶⁴

Summary

So far in this chapter I have shown how Gramsci's very earliest articles as a socialist journalist anticipate key concepts found in *L'Ordine Nuovo*. Equally, Gramsci's notion of prefiguration preceded his encounter with Lenin, the Bolshevik Revolution and West European council communism.

The idea that socialism's future institutions were found in today's labour organizations was already acknowledged by Gramsci before the revival of the factory internal commissions and, indeed, was located in those very traditional and reformist manifestations of Second Internationalist socialism, the cooperatives.

Now I return to the broader socialist and labour movement during the war. The *fatti* (riots) suffered by Turin at the end of August 1917 are of crucial importance and will be examined in detail. The role of the anarchists and syndicalists in Italy, in general, and Turin in particular, will be charted so as to place in context Gramsci's opinions about wartime attempts at socialist/libertarian alliances. Gramsci's opinions on this subject were made just as he encountered his natural constituency in the suburbs. It was the anarchists and socialists in these industrial suburbs who were prominent in the *fatti*. Within this context Gramsci clarified political ideology and tactics. The peculiarities of Gramsci's were his persistent attempts to create a third cultural institution of the socialist movement to augment the two other pillars of party and economic institutions. His resultant position placed him outside the general context of the reformist, maximalist or libertarian political subcultures of Italian socialism.

The War and the Labour and Socialist Movements, 1915–18

The First World War had profound repercussions upon the Italian economy, the workforce, the trade unions and political organizations that represented workers and peasants at the workplace and in parliament. Wartime inflation revolutionized social relationships in parts of the countryside, increasing the number of small proprietors and sharecroppers while further depressing the living standards of landless labourers and their families. The war was fought by peasant infantry who were promised land and social justice on their return home. The combined effects of changes in rural Italy during the *biennio rosso* produced massive land occupations led by veterans' associations in parts of the formerly quiescent south and stimulated the further unionization of landless labourers in the Po Valley and Apulia.

However, the most immediate and dramatic results of the war were seen in the military-induced boom that, in its turn stimulated the rapid growth and the vertical and horizontal concentration of the great steel, iron, automotive and rubber giants (Ilva, Ansaldo, Breda, Fiat and Pirelli). While Piedmont, Lombardy and Liguria became heavily industrialized, the south continued to lag significantly behind.⁶⁵

The war boom was accompanied by the first massive experiment in state intervention in the economy. The establishment of a regime of Industrial Mobilization meant that government, industry and labour sat on joint production boards.⁶⁶ It also meant that in 'auxiliary' factories, those deemed associated with war work, workers were supervised by soldiers and subject to the rigours of a modified form of martial law. If wartime corporatism produced ambiguous political effects, one must still agree with Martin Clark when he writes that, 'The war not only stimulated – and distorted – Italian industry, but did so in particular ways that undermined many of the assumptions of the pre-war Liberal Regime'.⁶⁷

Industrial mobilization particularly affected Turin. At the end of 1918 Italy had 1976 auxiliary firms but 762 of them were engaged in metal-making or engineering. Turin was therefore an extreme, even anomalous, example of wartime mobilization and state interventionism, but the astounding growth of Fiat was central to the wartime Torinese economy. Its employees increased from 4,000 in 1915 to 40,000 in 1918. Capital increased from 25.5 million lire in 1914 to 125 million lire in 1918. In 1914 it produced 3,300 vehicles but by 1918 this had grown to 70,862, nearly 95 per cent of which were bought by the Italian armed forces and its allies.⁶⁸

Turin experienced a significant increase in migration from rural Piedmont fuelled by peasant women and minors in search of work to replace the lost earnings of conscripted husbands or fathers. The city became a proletarian metropolis due to the war. In 1911, 19 per cent of the total population were workers, by 1918 this had risen to an extraordinary 30 per cent, meaning that the city contained slightly more than 150,000 factory workers in a total population of 513,000.⁶⁹

During the war the Italian system of industrial relations experienced vast changes yet some of its unusual characteristics, previously discussed in Chapters One and Two, remained present. Continuities were certainly evident in the high percentage of strikes caused by piece-rate disputes and the administration of fines. Equally, one can also detect the growth of egalitarian wage demands advanced by alliances of skilled and unskilled workers; and although these were more common in the Milanese and Ligurian hinterlands by 1916–17, they are reminiscent of similar movements during the 'syndicalist upsurge' of 1912–13.⁷⁰ These, I would argue, were not merely fortuitous reoccurrences, nor did a certain class mixture produce such movements. Although previous arguments about the 'deskilling' effects of technological innovation leading to a radicalized skilled workforce should not be completely dismissed, recent empirically based factory level studies demonstrate that wartime industrialization did not

translate automatically into rapid scientific rationalization or Taylorization (see Chapter Five for a broader discussion). Even in Turin, industrialists relied upon a new physical division of labour within their factories to achieve higher production. This resulted in the already mentioned significant increase in the numbers of women and children employed in heavy industry. Even in Turin, where many skilled craftsmen were exempted from conscription, veteran workers were promoted to instructors or foremen for newcomers.⁷¹

Women (and minors) played politically significant roles in factory and neighbourhood protests from 1916 to 1918. As they were neither subject to conscription nor usually imprisoned due to unofficial industrial actions, in 'auxiliary' engineering and metalworking factories protests were often initiated by them, and both USI and FIOM organizers recognized their tactical utility in this respect. Secondly, both the rapid and relentless rise in the cost of living, and the enormous increase in working hours, stimulated women to demonstrate in their neighbourhood market-places. In Turin the average annual consumption of meat per inhabitant fell from 68.18 kg in 1912-14 to 47.72 kg in 1918; sugar consumption fell from 16.45 kg to 8.24 kg. By mid-1917 a badly organized system of rationing for bread and pasta had been introduced. On top of these pressures poor housing and high rents mobilized women throughout the industrial triangle.⁷²

Recent emphasis on the relationship between 'auxiliary factory' and neighbourhood point to the importance of kinship and communitarian ties in deepening protest. However, this *parentela* relationship can be romanticized, nor can it explain whether or not protest acquired a particular political coloration. Ultimately local political traditions and the ability to maintain prewar continuities explain why Milanese, Ligurian and Torinese war protests had significantly different rates of development and different types of participants.⁷³ For our purposes the most relevant example of the continuity of factory cultures and personnel were those young self-educated Torinese workers, the members of the generation of 1910 we encountered in the last chapter.

In Turin the backbone of the revived system of internal commissions, which took a prominent role in local disputes from late 1915 to the end of the war, were representatives of the generation of 1910, or sometimes even their elders. If this is indicative of a continuity with the prewar world, the role of FIOM within Industrial Mobilization was most definitely a rupture with even the most advanced aspects of prewar industrial conciliation. Although Industrial Mobilization was exceedingly repressive, nevertheless it could not dispense entirely with free trade unions; indeed

it increased their importance significantly. Industrial production could not be guaranteed solely through draconian measures, it also required some form of consensus between industrialists and workers. Although Bruno Buozzi and the FIOM's other leaders could not prevent excesses, Industrial Mobilization did guarantee collective bargaining to an unheard of degree.⁷⁴

Even if the system of industrial relations under Industrial Mobilization was a significant departure from the practices of prewar Italy, a good deal of FIOM's strategic choices and accompanying organizational methods was foreshadowed in the prewar strikes discussed in Chapter Two. While the national secretariat of FIOM campaigned on national issues such as an escalator wage clause (the *scala mobile*), a minimum wage, the eight-hour day and unemployment insurance, Buozzi left to local initiative the settlement of disputes over cost-of-living bonuses, piece-rates and fines. Thus, during the war, both the local branches and internal commissions became increasingly important actors, as these disputes developed from shopfloor problems into flashpoints directly related to either neighbourhood protests or the broader anti-war movement. A radical localism, inspired by young and not so young socialists, anarchists and syndicalists, became an increasingly serious problem for the FIOM national secretariat. As Buozzi and others became more closely associated with the system of Industrial Mobilization, so too did local radicals accuse them of collaboration with the class enemy. Opposition to the Commissionissima (the Commission on Postwar Reconstruction) may have been denounced by Gramsci as theoretically incorrect statism, yet for many workers impulses were more elemental; one tried to keep dealings with the state to a minimum; trade union leaders and socialist parliamentarians who engaged in such traffic were viewed with great suspicion. Nevertheless, just like the radicals of 1912-13 (who, in Turin, were more often than not the same), in 1917 and 1918 a total rejection by militants of Bruno Buozzi's achievements could scarcely be contemplated.

The Socialist Party in Turin during the Great War

In 1915 Torinese socialists were overwhelmingly anti-interventionist and pacifist. Indeed, Turin was a city of socialists, clericals and Giolittians and therefore, Paolo Spriano concludes, decisively hostile to the war.⁷⁵ While anti-interventionism was not so clear cut in the early autumn of 1914, when republican France appeared to be in danger of being overrun by the Germans, by early 1915 as a stalemate developed on the Western Front, and battles with interventionist students became more frequent, the vast majority of the left rallied to oppose the war. On 12 May a

spontaneous strike broke out in many Torinese factories, followed four days later by an official general strike which lasted until the 18 May. Just as in the previous June, during the Red Week, large crowds assembled outside the Chamber of Labour and one hundred thousand demonstrators marched in an illegal procession to the centre of Turin where they were dispersed by cavalry. Some of the crowd pushed on as far as Piazza San Martino, in the very centre of Turin, where a gun shop was looted, a makeshift barricade erected, and an exchange of gunfire between the crowd and troops occurred, which resulted in the death of one young anarchist. In the aftermath of this incident the AGO was ransacked by soldiers and dozens of demonstrators arrested.⁷⁶

On 23 May 1915 Italy entered the war, and although the local Socialist Party never exceeded 500 members during the war, its increasingly radical leadership did exert a notable influence upon less committed but increasing war-weary workers and housewives as the conflict proceeded. The intransigents, or as they were known in 1916, the 'rigids', won control of the executive committee of the local branch in June 1915. In November 1916, a more pragmatic, if radical, group of socialists wrested control from the previous faction, but without official positions inhibiting their actions in 1917 they were able to engage in yet more extreme rhetoric and cultivate alliances with the suburban anarchists. 'Rigid' ideology was characterized by a near Leninist line on opposition to the war and Luxemburgist-like positions on nationalism.⁷⁷ Domestically, the 'rigids' demanded a complete boycott by socialists of Industrial Mobilization and a rhetorical support, if very few attempts, at sabotage of the war effort. Although both the 'rigids' and the less militant radicals were depleted by conscription, older socialists, some of whom had either been quiet or apparently more moderate before 1915, came to the fore.

One of the most important 'newly awakened' socialists was Pietro Rabbezzana, a communal clerk, who at the age of forty was elected secretary of the branch in the autumn of 1915. An anarchist in his youth, he maintained close contacts with radical republicans and had fought under the anarchist *cum* Garibaldian 'colonel of the Paris Commune', Amilcare Cipriani, at Domokòs during the Cretan revolt of 1897. As a prominent socialist during the war, he expressed himself at several key junctures in anarchosyndicalist terms.⁷⁸ Other new faces included Giovanni Boero, a metalworker and before the war a Morgari man. At the age of 35 he met the young Bordiga and became a leading radical figure within FIOM, forming very close ties with the anarchists Fererro and Garino.⁷⁹ Another socialist trade union figure, Carlo Beruti, provided a direct linkage with the Torinese anarchist movement of the 1890s. He had been active at the

turn of the century in Turin, then lived in France and later London, where he wrote for Malatesta's newspapers, and had returned to Turin via Switzerland in 1914, serving as the secretary of the local branch of the SFI.⁸⁰

They were joined by local women socialists who became prominent as protest became frequent amongst female workers and housewives. Of particular importance were Elvira Zocca, a clerk, and the Apulian school-teacher and mother of eight children, Maria Giudice, who as editor of *Il Grido del Popolo* before August 1917, disliked Gramsci's intellectual style of journalism.⁸¹ At the neighbourhood level the generation of 1910 – Mario Montagnana, Battista Santhià and others – remained in intimate contact with the active anarchist groups in FIOM and Barriera di Milano.

By 1917, when the reformists retained control of FIOM, the cooperatives and the parliamentary group, the local edition of *Avanti!* and *Il Grido del Popolo* became increasingly radical. However, one of the driving personalities behind this shift was Antonio Gramsci, and he was far from being on good terms with the 'rigids' and anti-war reformists. He openly detested an old workerist radical, the carter Francesco Barberis, nor did his relations with Maria Giudice improve, even if he wrote a compassionate obituary for her interventionist husband, killed at the front in 1918, which reveals a surprising sensitivity towards idealistic Mazzinian supporters of the war that included his classmate, Palmiro Togliatti.⁸²

Gramsci's philosophical idealism and his Socratic method of political education were neither comprehended nor appreciated by many reformists or older radicals. Rather, it was the generation of 1910, suburban socialists with high rates of exemption from conscription and long-lasting ties with anarchists, who introduced him to popular Torinese socialist politics. One ginger group within this subculture, the anarchists, became more active as the war progressed. I will now turn to a discussion of their position.

The Torinese Anarchists: 1915–18

The war did not come as a great surprise for Maurizio Garino. He recalled speakers at the Ferrer Circle during the Balkan Wars, warning of an impending catastrophe. However, when war did break out several Torinese anarchists joined the revolutionary interventionists. Two of Mussolini's earliest associates were Mario Gioda and Massimo Rocca; the syndicalists Polledro and Nanni were vociferous interventionists. Others, such as Garino's fellow modelmakers, Pavoni and Luigi Lelli, a Forlivese Arsenal worker active in the Fascio Libertario, left for France to fight with the *garibaldini* on the Marne.⁸³

Following Italy's entry into the war, the anarchist movement was far less active than previously. The Ferrer Circle was temporarily closed due to lack of funds and the depletion of supporters caused by conscription. The Fascio Libertario lost its headquarters in 1916, meanwhile many anarchists were arrested and detained. After the riots in May 1915, Garino spent several months in jail. Although eventually released because of insufficient incriminating evidence, Garino had been branded as a dangerous radical due to his activities in 1914 and 1915.

Garino held fifteen different jobs during the war. He was exempted from conscription because of a weak heart, so he enjoyed the freedom to pick and choose his employment. Although he was sacked seven times, the demand for his skills was such that he was never unemployed. During the war he was paid generously, recalling that wide wage differentials persisted within industry: at Officine di Savigliano, where he worked in 1916, he was paid one lire an hour but conscripted workers earned three lire a day.⁸⁴

By early 1916 the anarchists began to display renewed signs of life. Anti-war anarchists and socialists coordinated private protests against the visit of Prime Minister Salandra to Turin in January 1916. In the summer of 1916 the Ferrer Circle reopened its doors. The reestablishment of a workers' theatre group, La Società Filodrammatica Edera, brought new recruits and the young positivist anarchist, Giuseppe Mombelli, presided over a renewed educational programme.⁸⁵ Anarchists also reappeared in street demonstrations and at public forums. On May Day in 1916 Rabbezzana, the anarchist Margarita and several young workers were arrested during an illegal gathering. In June *Avanti!* reported that the *fascio giovanile* of Borgo San Paolo had called for a united front of socialists and libertarians. Although this was denounced by Gramsci, it was deemed important enough to be discussed at the Piedmontese FGS congress, held on 15 July, where calls by some Torinese socialists to follow Borgo San Paolo's lead were repudiated.⁸⁶ The reaction by the provincial congress of young socialists may have been partially motivated by the public desertion of fourteen young socialists to the anarchists, several of whom would exert considerable influence on events in 1917 and during the *biennio rosso*.⁸⁷ By the summer the prefect also noticed the increased activity of the anarchists and wrote to Rome on 26 August that it 'is continually developing in young socialist circles through the public propaganda carried out by the more capable anarchists and through weekly private meetings that are becoming more numerous'. By the summer the Fascio Libertario was active again. On 25 June 30 members gathered to discuss their position after the recent congress of the anti-interventionist

USI in Florence. In the autumn the Fascio Libertario (now numbering fifty) was afforded space at the socialists' beerhall.⁸⁸

Much of the visible anti-war activity in Turin in 1916 and 1917 arose from unofficial mixed groups of anarchists and socialists. One of their main rallying points during the summer and early autumn of 1916 concerned the imminent execution of the Italo-American Wobbly (member of the American Industrial Workers of the World) – Carlo Tresca – by the state of Minnesota. Public demonstrations against what was widely regarded as a legal lynching in a neutral country were allowed by the government. Naturally, the anarchists played prominent roles in Rome, Milan and Turin. It was an occasion for the Torinese left to rally against the war, and after a meeting for Tresca on 2 September, groups of young socialists and anarchists demonstrated in a violent incident in the city centre. Ten days later, after leaving another private anti-war meeting addressed by the socialist deputy Francesco Ciccotti, more disturbances took place. On 20 September another meeting addressed by the anarchist Elia and the socialists Barberis, Zocca, Guidice and Rabbezzana saw anarchist anti-war leaflets distributed by a mysterious Gruppo di Religiosi. Some of its members' identities were quickly revealed.⁸⁹

One of the most prominent members was Corrado Quaglino, a young student at the Istituto Tecnico Sommeiller (b. 1900 in Turin). The police found 3,000 copies of the group's leaflet during a raid carried out on 2 October. On 15 October a group of twelve anarchists were arrested. They were either very young or quite middle aged, and except for Quaglino, all were manual workers.⁹⁰

Their curious name may have derived from a strange empathy for a group of young militant anti-war Catholics who were currently holding discussions with Gramsci at the editorial offices of *Il Grido del Popolo*.⁹¹ The group's leaflet appealed to soldiers to desert and to start a national revolt. Brought to trial in 1917, Margarita, Cherubini and Elia received three-year prison sentences; Quaglino, Rubino and Allolio received two years. All the imprisoned were released by early 1919 after a general amnesty was declared.⁹²

By the summer of 1916 the anarchists were increasingly prominent in discussion groups and street disturbances, and their activities seemed capable of attracting less politically committed youngsters. Of the 104 individuals arrested during the September protests, thirty were under 19 years of age and a further 56 under twenty-one.⁹³ Youth, too, would play a decisive role in the *fatti* (riots) of 1917.

The Fatti of 22/26 August 1917: Origins

Four main causes have been advanced to explain the rioting of 22–26 August 1917.⁹⁴ The first and certainly most important was the high price of basic necessities in Turin, and the collapse of effective provisioning of flour and bread in August 1917. In the summer Gramsci had noted these alarming tendencies and had warned the authorities of the dire consequences. While his later assertions that Giolittian elements sabotaged the provisioning system so as to discredit their opponents in Rome may be outlandish, his dissection of its absurdities and inequalities were accurate enough.⁹⁵ Indeed, the first signs of protest were a march of a small group of women to the centre of the city, exasperated by the long queues at bakeries. One of the rumours that seemed to deepen the violence of the initial rioting was a reflection of years of stored-up resentments. The most common evoked memories of the French Revolution. While passing a group of demonstrators in her luxury motor car, a wealthy woman was supposed to have advised the hungry suburbanites that they could eat cake if bread was no longer available! There is widespread circumstantial evidence to suggest that flour was being diverted from popular suburban bakeries to more profitable pastry shops in the city centre. Indeed, pastry shops were a widespread target of looting during the first day's rioting.⁹⁶ The authorities recognized the degree of ineptitude in their system of provisioning and flooded the area with flour and bread, but this came too late to prevent serious bloodshed.

If the closure of bakeries sparked off rioting, the second cause, industrial unrest, coupled with war weariness, frayed workers' tempers. Mario Montagnana recalled that his fellow workmates at the Diatto plant quickly transformed a bread protest into an anti-war demonstration.⁹⁷

By the spring of 1917 an alliance of socialists and anarchists began to exert considerable pressure upon Buoizzi and Colombino. Some of this pressure arose from the increasing importance of the USI and its *Sindacato Metallurgico* in Liguria: undoubtedly the serious rioting in Sestri Ponente in July had marked effects upon the atmosphere in Turin's suburbs during the weeks leading up to the August rising.⁹⁸ However, the problems of long hours, fines and the new disciplinary code within the factories began to disrupt the relative peace that factories had enjoyed from 1913 to 1916. From early March 1916 minor disputes broke out. In October Garino took part in an industrial dispute at Savigliano arising from women's demands for higher wages. A short unofficial strike was accompanied by a meeting at the *casa del popolo* in Borgo Vittoria. Garino was sacked after the demands of the strikers were partially met. More than 2,000 workers

walked out in solidarity with him, and another meeting was held although this had no effect on Garino's position.⁹⁹

Other anarchists were increasingly prominent within factories: Santini at Dubosc, Michele Guasco (b. 1888 in Alessandria) within Fiat. Ferrero was increasingly prominent within FIOM although he worked in the Arsenal. More important, perhaps, was Mario Mombello, (b. 1882 at Valle San Nicolo in the Vercellese). Like so many other Torinese anarchists he migrated from the Vercellese. Active both in the Piedmontese and international anarchist movements since the 1890s, in the 1900s he had lived in London and worked closely with Malatesta, although this did not prevent him from taking part in socialist politics earlier, during the 1890s in northern Italy. From 1915 he was an active anarchist in Turin and particularly prominent within FIOM as an organizer both in Liguria and Turin. He was an advocate of unitary syndicalist and socialist trade unions, and seemed to have met with some success in Sestri Ponente and Bolzanetto. He served as a conduit of information between the syndicalist *Sindacato Metallurgico* and suburban anarchists and socialists in Turin. Several articles in FIOM's trade journals advocating a united front of metal workers may have been written by him. He was treated coolly by FIOM's leadership and was expelled from the regional board (Liguria) of the Industrial Mobilization in the autumn of 1918 after serving a six month sentence in jail for anti-war propaganda in the winter and spring of 1918.¹⁰⁰

Greater and more cumulative pressure on Buozzi and his associates came from the Garino-Ferrero-Boero alliance within Turin's important FIOM branch. Buozzi tried to steal some of their thunder by launching an eight-hour day campaign during the spring of 1917 but he and other members of the leadership were subjected to rowdy meetings that spring and summer. An agent of Industrial Mobilization claimed that the anarchists were increasing their semi-clandestine propaganda within auxiliary factories and one striking example of the sympathy they evoked can be demonstrated by recalling a FIOM meeting held on 31 May 1917 when over 2,000 metal workers crowded into the Chamber of Labour to discuss the unrest in the factories. Garino spoke for the left-wing opposition and demanded a general strike against Industrial Mobilization and especially against the practice of sending troublesome workers to particularly lethal sectors of the war front. The FIOM executive committee calmed the excited crowd but on 23 June a bitter confrontation erupted once again between Ferrero, Garino and Boero, on the one side, and the executive committee, on the other.¹⁰¹

These increasingly fractious meetings occurred just as short unofficial strikes (which nevertheless had the open support of the left-wing of FIOM)

broke out in the automobile plants. On 5 June 500 workers struck at San Giorgio-Fiat over discipline. Strikers won their point after a particularly zealous foreman was shifted from his department. On 2 July 1,000 workers (800 men and 200 women) walked out at Rapid. Their demands included a 10 per cent rise for the women and fairer distribution of piece work.¹⁰² Although these events were short lived, their significance is twofold. First, in August workers from Rapid and San Giorgio would be particularly active in the riots. Secondly, the older anarchist opposition of 1911–12 appeared once again to threaten Buozzi's control of unionized car workers.

The Russian Revolution in February was the third cause of the riots.¹⁰³ Here, too, the anarchists played a prominent role, particularly in interpreting its meaning to the suburban workers. In the first place Turin acted as a source for anarchist literature against the war and in support of the Russian Revolution. Local anarchists printed two of Luigi Fabbri's pamphlets (Fabbri was Malatesta's leading theoretician). The first was entitled *La guerra europea e gli anarchici* (*The European War and the Anarchists*) and was published in June 1916. It was written by Fabbri at Malatesta's behest in order to denounce the international pro-war anarchist manifesto issued in Paris in March 1916. The second was a manifesto, *Eppur si muove* (Galileo's famous defiant dictum: 'And yet it moves'), published less than a year later on 15 April 1917, and one of the first Italian anarchist accounts of the February Revolution.¹⁰⁴

The 1916 booklet anticipates the April manifesto. Fabbri drew connections between imperialism and capitalism, welcomed with reservations the Zimmerwald Movement and emphasized the need for a united anti-war front of anarchists and socialists. Pacifist strategies, as well as calls for a negotiated settlement between states, were rejected. Rather, the war was seen as an occasion for social revolution, and Fabbri (under the pseudonym Oduardo Agnelli (!)), took heart at the recent Sinn Féin uprising in Dublin. In April 1917 it seemed as if Fabbri's wishes had been fulfilled in Russia.¹⁰⁵

The moral drawn from Fabbri's purple prose was that only militant anti-war groups had profited from the Russian Revolution, in which a mass of worker/peasant soldiers would soon overturn a weak government of liberals and moderate socialists. This broadsheet seemed to have enjoyed a fairly wide circulation in northern and central Italy, giving the authorities some cause for alarm.¹⁰⁶ Certainly by the summer of 1917, when a delegation of Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries representing the Petrograd Soviet toured Italy, the anarchists had adopted a pro-Bolshevik position.¹⁰⁷

Just as the Tresca campaign in 1916 allowed for public demonstrations

against the war so, too, did these much larger outdoor rallies offer new opportunities. During the second meeting in Turin of the Russian 'Agro-nauts for Peace' on 13 August, after Serrati had inaccurately translated the French of the ex-Bolshevik Goldenberg to appear as a severe criticism of the war, local 'rigid' socialists and the anarchist Anselmo Acutis (see Chapter Two) reiterated the message.¹⁰⁸

The authorities privately may have acknowledged the role of bread shortages in setting off the August riots, however they were particularly concerned about the part played by anarchist instigators. The fourth cause of the riots, the role of the anarchists, is clearly the most contentious. With the *fatti* occurring less than a fortnight after Acutis's intervention, he was clearly marked out as a scapegoat. However, at his trial in 1918 following his arrest in September 1917, Acutis was acquitted of all charges relating to the *fatti*. Furthermore, the anarchists themselves never claimed they organized the initial demonstrations. In his old age Garino on several occasions agreed to this proposition.¹⁰⁹ Closer to the events, on the first anniversary, *L'Avvenire Anarchico*, and in the Torinese edition of *Cronaca Sovversiva* in 1920, the Torinese individualist activist Cesare Sobrito (see Chapter Two) claimed that the riots were completely spontaneous. (However this should not be considered the most disinterested source of evidence since both journals were edited by anarchists enamoured of spontaneity!) Historical reconstructions, however, reinforce the consensus.¹¹⁰

Having said this, there is something to the authorities' concerns. First, anarchists did have a clearly defined network of supporters active in factories and neighbourhoods. I have already noted their increasing importance within FIOM, but in the summer *Avanti!* reported progressively larger crowds at meetings of the Fascio Libertario held at the socialists' beerhall and in their suburban strongholds.¹¹¹ Secondly, although they were not extremely effective, members of the Rome-based Committee of International Anarchist Action did supply the local anarchists with anti-war leaflets. For instance, Garino and another anarchist were caught sending anti-militarist leaflets (previously seized by the police in Naples) to a frontline soldier (Giovanni Vittori, b. 1891 in Turin, carpenter) in May 1917.¹¹²

Most of the subversive literature and correspondence between Torinese anarchists, soldiers, deserters and the International Committee were transmitted through Giuseppe Baratterro's (b. 1867 in Cunco) news kiosk in Via Nizza. Baratterro maintained contacts with the Italo-Swiss friend of Malatesta, Luigi Bertoni, the long-standing editor of *Il Risveglio* in Geneva. It seems clear that Baratterro and other anarchists smuggled deserters to Switzerland or hid them in Turin by securing false papers to

work in factories. Garino claims that the Ferrer Circle and the Gruppo Barriera di Milano helped. Railwaymen, for good reasons, were particularly active. A leading left-wing socialist, the Neapolitan Francesco Misiano, was smuggled to Switzerland and appeared, at least during the war, to be something of a link between Torinese socialists, the *Il Risveglio* group and deserters in Italy.¹¹³

However, a Torinese police spy went further and claimed in an unsigned note written in July 1917, that the SFI, Bertoni, the International Committee and the Torinese anarchists (even naming the Gruppo Barriera di Milano) were plotting an insurrection. Gramsci may have also noted the echo of these claims in September 1917, when they were possibly leaked to the conservative press. Later, in January 1918, Misiano gave a speech in Zurich defending the *fatti*, which confirmed in the minds of the authorities the correctness of the spy's predictions. However, other reports by the same spy show that the Roman anarchist, Tommaso Monticelli, writing on behalf of the International Committee, appeared remarkably ill-informed of Torinese events during the summer. He requested information from the Torinese comrades about unrest in Turin, Milan and Liguria, and asked them for suggested anti-war propaganda which the Committee might prepare, but he only gave vague promises of support. Indeed, a Torinese anarchist wrote to Monticelli in October, 1917 lamenting the isolation of Turin before, during and after the riots, and asked the International Committee to collect 300 lire for the families of prisoners, the wounded and the dead.¹¹⁴ Pre-insurrectionary planning seemed minimal: the authorities had confused this with a network that distributed leaflets and hid or transported a (perhaps) significant number of deserters. However, once the rioting commenced during the afternoon of 22 August 1917, anarchists sought to impose tactical and military guidance on the unfolding developments.

The Events¹¹⁵

When bakeries remained closed on the morning of 22 August a group of fifty women headed for the city centre. They marched to the Palazzo del Popolo where the Chamber of Labour and the AGO had their headquarters. Interrupting the congress of the SFI, currently being held in Turin, the women, by now joined by a larger crowd of suburbanites, held an impromptu protest meeting. By midday the Arsenal workers in Borgo Dora had walked out and workers from Borgo San Paolo, and others from Officine di Diatto of Barriera di Orbassano milled in the streets outside the Palazzo. The meeting was addressed by the secretary of the Chamber

of Labour, D'Alberto, and the secretary of the textile workers union, Borghi. However, when it ended, the police blocked all exits from the building and arrested Borghi, D'Alberto and delegates from the SFI congress (who were immediately released). Here was one of the primary reasons why the protest spread so quickly. Throughout the disturbances leaders of the socialist party and trade unions were either arrested or prevented from communicating with their followers. Buoizzi, for instance, was prevented from issuing a manifesto assuring workers that bread had arrived! Furthermore, the secretary of the CGL, Rinaldo Rigola, vacationing in nearby Biella, refused to intervene; and when Serrati arrived in Turin he was immediately arrested.

This policy seems to be in sharp contrast with prewar Giolittian practice during general strikes, when the national leadership of the Socialist Party and the trade unions were encouraged to maintain lines of communication with Rome and its prefects. In Turin, however, Prefect Verdinois was prepared to continue Giolitti's older practice, but the *questore's* harder line won the day. Finally, the activity of Turin's mayor can only be described as incompetent and irresponsible.

By the afternoon of 22 August serious clashes between police and demonstrators spread around the streets adjacent to the Palazzo del Popolo. Some demonstrators attempted to march on nearby barracks but were beaten off by cavalry. By 4 or 5 p.m. all work had ceased in the larger factories. Shops were being looted for clothing, food and guns. Tram traffic ceased and municipal police stations in the suburb of Vanchiglia were attacked by mobs. The city hall was surrounded by demonstrators, while armed troops guarded a session of the council, and the mayor expressed fears for his life. By the evening of 22 August the first barricades were built and heavy gunfire reverberated throughout the city until midnight.

With the exception of some women and youths, most demonstrators were driven from the centre of the city after 22 August and action shifted to the suburbs. An unofficial general strike was declared on 23 August, and even though bread was available, the second day of rioting witnessed even greater violence, so that martial law was declared that afternoon. The centre of disturbance was located in Borgo San Paolo, Barriera di Nizza and Barriera di Milano. Attempts on the 23 and 24 August to reach the centre of Turin were repulsed by *carabinieri* and *alpini*. Fierce battles were fought at Porta Mosso, Porta Palazzo and Borgo Vittorio. For the next two days the suburbs remained the insurgents' fortresses.

To the south-west Borgo San Paolo was cut off by workers' barricades next to the Officine Ferroviarie on Corso Principe Oddone while, on the

other end of the boulevard a formidable barricade of overturned electrified tram cars blocked the main route north to *Barriera di Lanzo*. Equally, to the north, *Barriera di Milano* was isolated from the city centre by barricades. One, on *Corso Vercelli*, was composed of downed trees, the other, closer to the city centre on *Corso Ponte Mosca*, built by workers from *Fiat San Giorgio* and *Fiat Brevetti*, was composed of trees, telegraph poles and overturned sand-filled railway carriages, taken from the nearby *Cerié-Lanzo* line.

On 23 August anti-clerical incidents dominated the rioting. The church of *San Bernardino* in *Borgo San Paolo* was burnt down and its monks had to flee for their lives after a crowd of 5,000 arrived to settle accounts arising from an incident in 1916 when the monks flogged several young boys caught stealing pears from their garden. Meanwhile, police opened fire and killed three demonstrators. In *Madonna di Campagna*, the church of *La Nostra Signora della Pace* was sacked and a red flag planted in its bell tower. Enraged civilians opened fire from nearby houses killing and wounding several rioters.

Attempts to reach the centre of the city on the 23 and 24 August were unsuccessful, but street fighting did reach as far as *Piazza del Castello* where the prefecture was located. The crowds were driven back by machine-gun fire and armoured cars. On the evening of 24 August the army and *carabinieri* counter-attacked and marched on the suburbs. In one incident, however, women stopped their forward march temporarily by staging a sit-down in the street. By 24 August the authorities were becoming increasingly alarmed, as the barricades were preventing the provisioning of the centre of the city. It came as a great relief when armoured cars smashed through the last barriers on the 25 August. Organized resistance collapsed on 25 August.

Most accounts of the uprising emphasize its spontaneity, yet equally and rather contradictorily claim that the rioters had built elaborate barricades, systematically looted gun shops and organized marches on the city centre. Certainly, the authorities were caught off guard by the ferocity of the rioting and even the socialists in the centre of the city seemed to be at a loss as to what course to follow as rioting spread throughout the suburbs. Mario Montagnana recalled that

no one, neither the reformists nor the revolutionaries (including myself, naturally) knew what to do, what slogans to communicate to the masses, who wanted to end the war and make the revolution, but they didn't have the slightest idea what methods to adopt.¹¹⁶

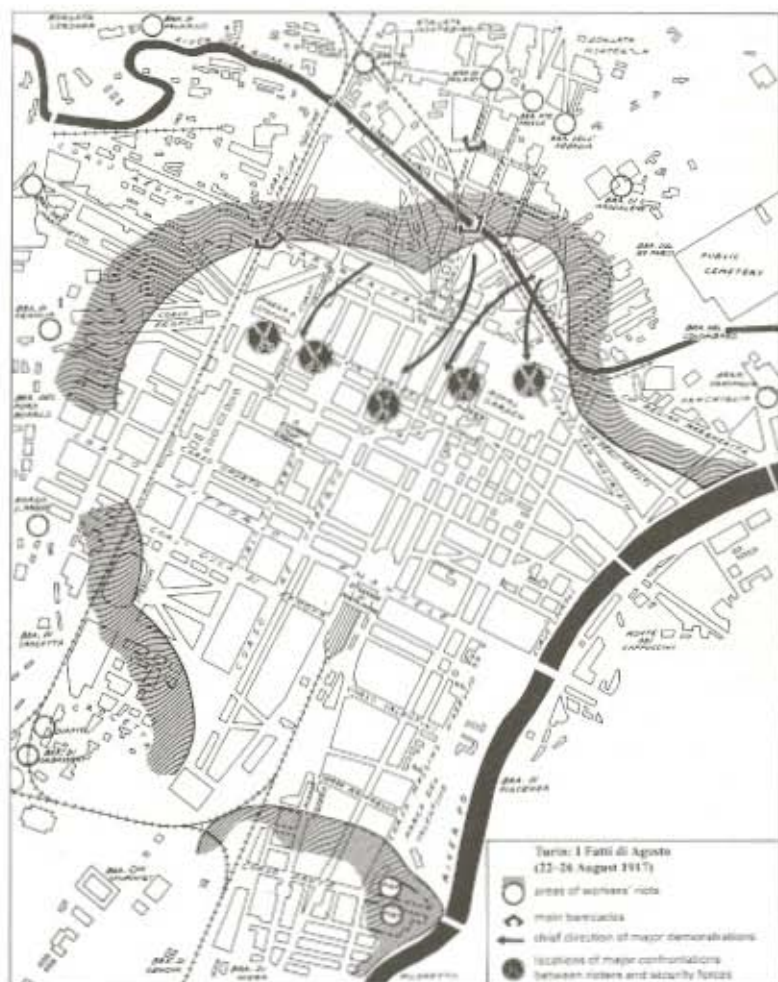
However, a decade after the events the theoretical journal of the Italian Communist Party, *Lo Stato Operaio*, recalled that there existed, in *Barriera di Milano*, 'a real organized centre of the revolt directed by a group of anarchists'.¹¹⁷

These contrasting pieces of evidence are reconciled once we recall the patterns of protest already established in 1914 and 1915. Large groups of largely apolitical or less politically committed demonstrators were guided by compact groups of suburban socialists and anarchists. Garino estimates, for instance, that there were perhaps 10,000 active rioters and small well-organized groups of anarchists, syndicalists and socialists with 100 revolvers and fifteen rifles at their disposal.¹¹⁸ Although he may have exaggerated the amount of weapons available, the police do report sniper fire on the 23 and 24 August, and at least one officer was shot dead and a further two soldiers wounded by a grenade thrown by a rioter.¹¹⁹

According to Garino, the *Barriera di Milano* group used the Ferrer Circle as a meeting place. He identified six to eight activists as the organizers. Affinity groups of Tuscan, Romagnole, Vercellese and Biellese militants were essential. Among the more prominent anarchists involved in the riots, besides himself and his brother, were Vincenzo Bonaglia who led hundreds of youths building barricades on Corso Vercelli, Giovanni Luigi Berra (a shop assistant born in Turin in 1887) who organized the electrified tram barricade, Pietro Ferrero who mobilized the first group of protesters from the Arsenal and the Vercellese mechanic Antonio Mairone (b. 1900, Turin) who mobilized the workers of Fiat-Brevetti and Fiat San Giorgio. Sobrito was certainly active, but his exact role is hard to ascertain. Finally, Garino also mentions a Milanese involved in the small inner circle. According to police reports, this may have been Umberto Minigrucchi of the anti-interventionist USI.¹²⁰ The anarchists not only organized rudimentary armed resistance – they also printed and circulated leaflets appealing to soldiers to desert. Again the Gruppo di Religiosi made its appearance and its leaflets were found in suburban streets, within barracks, factories and military hospitals.¹²¹

There were few incidents of desertion by troops, although on 23 August *alpini* refused to shoot at demonstrators in *Barriera di Milano*. However, according to demonstrators, most troops and police were in fact disguised officers or cadets, little influenced by anarchist or socialist propaganda. Indeed in one incident in Borgo San Paolo four civilians were shot dead at point-blank range after they implored *alpini* not to use their weapons.

Resistance was crushed decisively in the suburbs. In Borgo San Paolo a machine gun was placed at the centre of strategic Piazza Pescheria, and adjoining streets were sprayed with bullets, while in the main square of



Map 3.1. Turin: *I Fatti di Agosto* (22–26 August 1917)¹²²

Barriera di Milano resistance ended after eight rioters were shot dead.¹²³ Garino's brother was arrested and Garino escaped only to be arrested in the provinces in September, and according to his testimony nearly summarily executed by *carabinieri*, only to be spared when his captors learned that his father had been part of the force for a quarter of a century. Jailed briefly, by early 1918 Garino was active within FIOM once again. Forty-one civilians, soldiers and police were killed during the riots. Only three were members of the security forces, but more than forty other soldiers or policemen were hospitalized, some with gunshot wounds. Eight hundred-and-twenty-two civilians were arrested and well over 300 auxiliary workers were sent directly to the front and placed in isolated punishment battalions.¹²⁴ Because of the riots Caporetto and a good deal of the local and national socialist and anarchist leadership were detained until late 1918 or early 1919.

Although Garino claims to recall iron discipline in factories during 1918, it is also clear that employers desired peace and quiet, so Colombino and Buoizzi won generous wage increases from Agnelli during the spring bargaining round. Nevertheless, the Boero–Garino–Ferrero leftwing opposition mounted a sustained campaign within FIOM to defend imprisoned demonstrators and support bereaved families, to push (as the SFI demanded) for an eight-hour day through direct action and to oppose collaboration with the *Commissionissima*. Buoizzi had been successful, in fact, at easing military discipline in factories, getting more satisfactory provisioning of food and even having some sacked workers reinstated.¹²⁵ Yet even if the FIOM leadership had been surprisingly successful at achieving reforms, the left opposition, and an allied generic distrust amongst less politicized workers, were not entirely dissipated. Meanwhile, the strengthening of the factory internal commissions from 1916 gave the left a formidable power base within the factories themselves. In late 1918 these served as a springboard for the anarchists and future *ordinovisti*. The memory of the bitter street warfare of August 1917, too, would be recalled during the popular protest of the *biennio rosso*. The unhappy relationship between official labour institutions and suburban radicalism, which had been present before the war and in 1917, would reappear once again when peace returned.

Gramsci and the Torinese Working Class

So far I have examined in this chapter the evolution of Gramsci's political thought through the war. I have also discussed the nature of the Torinese working-class movement and the roles of the anarchists in it during the

same period. Now I will turn to the interaction of the suburban radicals with Gramsci and finish by examining Gramsci's contribution to the debate between anarchists and socialists over the question of forming alliances.

Gramsci's presence within the Torinese labour movement during wartime is found at three levels: firstly, his journalistic impact already examined; secondly, his lectures to socialist clubs in the suburbs; finally, his curious 'Club of Moral Life'. Oral testimony demonstrates that many of his closest working-class followers of the *biennio rosso* first made his acquaintance at the editorial offices of *Il Grido del Popolo*. It was Gramsci's intelligence, modesty and *sang-froid* that attracted the small following of workers, technicians, students and intellectuals he developed in these years. Antonio Oberti recalls Gramsci during the August 1917 rising (which was when Maurizio Garino first met him), when the Socialist Party section was overwhelmed by mass arrests of its leadership, editing a manifesto, most probably 'Le Cinque Giorni del Proletariato' ('The Five Days of the Proletariat'), and having it typed at the engineer's studio of Giuseppe Romita.¹²⁶

Vincenzo Bianco, then a teenage worker, met Gramsci at the editorial offices of *Il Grido del Popolo* when he delivered newspaper subscriptions from the suburbs.

The editorial offices were important for his intellectual and political development.¹²⁷ They became a focal point for his circle of lower middle- and working-class acolytes, but also the social space where those of different ideological and spiritual persuasions, such as young Catholics, Crocean or Gentile intellectuals, futurists and anarchists could engage in animated discussion, but the editorial offices were also important for his personal and emotional life. His own cramped accommodations were not suitable for entertaining friends. He would often meet them at the editorial offices, at a milk bar near his digs (located in Piazza San Martino opposite a headquarters of the *carabinieri*), or would dine with acquaintances who included the Buozzi family, which shows that ideological differences in these early years did not prevent personal ties. (Indeed personal animosities delayed Gramsci from forging political alliances with such radical workers as Giovanni Parodi.)¹²⁸ Although in his initial years in Turin his circle of friends was restricted to university professors and students, once he became a recognized socialist journalist during the war, all of Turin was at his feet. For even if Gramsci liked to describe Turin as a huge machine metropolis, in fact in many ways it retained a small-town quality. As one of his closest associates between 1915 and 1920 (Andrea Viglono) recalled, 'Turin then was much smaller, almost a large town and in consequence contacts, even personal contacts, were easier'.¹²⁹

The workers he attracted to his discussion at the offices of *Grido del Popolo* were of a particular type. They were generally highly skilled or educated, and resented the airs the white-collar and intellectual classes of Turin put on. Giorgio Carretto (b. 1891 in Turin) a young Fiat worker, active in the factory councils in 1919–20 and an important collaborator in *L'Ordine Nuovo*, recalls the sullen attitude of his workmates towards Torinese polite society before 1915. He recalls a factory protest:

Before the First World War, we workers were humiliated, despised, exploited: we counted for nothing. We had everyone against us – the boss, the clerk, the shopkeeper, the city police, everyone, everyone, was against us. We often left the factories without any organisation, that is, spontaneously. Naturally we went on strike for serious reasons (there were plenty of reasons). But what did we do? First, we threw stones at the streetlights and shop windows, and then we overturned the first tram we encountered in the street, and then we went on to wreck the market stalls and everything that we found we tried to destroy. But why? Because the streetlights represented the commune, the boss, our enemies and anything we could destroy was for the best.¹³⁰

This sense of humiliation was particularly felt by workers such as Carretto within the factory itself.

The clerks entered the workshop ten minutes before and left ten minutes after so as not to meet the workers and when they met us they crossed to the other side of the street. There were workers, like myself, who had done years and years of apprenticeship before becoming skilled workers. They went to night school, after ten hours of factory work for years and years to learn design and become capable to work in a modern industry, while many clerks (I am not talking about the managers) spent the entire day working, rubber-stamping the same words on thousands of slips of paper: this was their only job. But to us they gave a design and said: 'Try to carry it out'. What a difference! And yet they were highly valued and we were despised!¹³¹

Gramsci's ability to sit down with such men and talk naturally, without pretension and without florid rhetoric, endeared him to them. Gramsci was one of 'them', one of Turin's white hands, yet he was with 'us'. Gramsci's ability to share his culture with the less educated is demonstrated by those witnesses recalling his first lectures to suburban clubs in 1916–17. On 24 August 1916 Gramsci spoke at the Fascio Giovanile Amedeo Cantanesi in Borgo San Paolo on Roman Rolland. Other important lectures included those on the French Revolution, on the Paris Commune and Woman and Socialism (which used Ibsen's *A Doll's House* as a talking

point). The witnesses concur that he was not a spellbinder and was therefore considered by conventional standards a poor speaker; but he in fact broke these conventions of socialist oratory in order to elicit discussion from his audience. His respect for his audience's intelligence appealed to small groups of skilled and/or self-educated workers. They appreciated his respect for their technical and practical industrial knowledge; and they were particularly attracted to his productivist rhetoric and prose, to his identification of themselves as the producers.¹³²

Of the many written examples where Gramsci's attraction to the suburbs is present, we have his description of the semi-legal May Day demonstrations of 1916, which underlined the supremacy of the suburbs in which he lectured, to the city centre in which he lived. The First of May had 'retired to the suburbs', its natural home, the home of the factory chimneys, 'where the day before the machines thundered', where the working-class suburbs 'like a ring of industry and activity' encircled the unserious 'carnival of the old aristocratic houses, the great caf  s, the theatres and the banks'.¹³³

His vision was therefore personally satisfying to manual workers who felt snubbed by polite society, but Gramsci was not just playing to the grandstands. He had other intentions. His tiny Club of Moral Life appears to have been the model that he wanted to use to mould the various friendships and political circles that he cultivated in the war years.

The Club of Moral Life¹³⁴

The Club of Moral Life was Gramsci's small discussion group that existed for not more than 100 days from the end of 1917 to the beginning of 1918. He had three other Club members, all of whom were quite different from his suburban audiences: Attilio Carena (b. 1899 in Turin), a philosophy student, enamoured of Gentilean actualism and of lower middle-class origin; Carlo Boccardo (b. 1900 in Turin), a municipal employee of working-class origins and Andrea Viglongo (b. 1900 in Turin), a clerk and correspondent for the FGS's *L'Avanguardia*. His family were migrants from the Vercellese and had been *braccianti* but in Turin his father became the caretaker of a large primary school at which some of the meetings of the Club of Moral Life were held. Gramsci described the Club's mission in a letter to the Gentilean war interventionist and educationalist, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice.

At Turin we believe that preaching about the principles and moral maxims which should necessarily become established with the coming of a socialist

civilisation is not enough. We have tried to give this preaching an organised form; to give new examples (for Italy) of how to work together. So the Club di Vita Morale has recently emerged. Through it we propose to accustom young people in the Socialist movement to dispassionate discussion about social and ethical problems. We want them to become used to research, to read methodically and disciplinedly, to expound their convictions simply and with equanimity.¹³⁵

Gramsci's Club members loved to expound on Gentilean themes. Its mode of operation, and a modified version of its syllabus, was to be transferred to other prototypes for use in the suburbs.¹³⁶ Gramsci of course was the pioneer group's Socrates, but it was more than the prototype for a species of decentralized socialist party school; it was also a deeply personal endeavour, with the Sardinian, a decade older than the three other participants, acting as the elder brother, gently guiding his disciples to greater self-understanding.

In the already cited letter to Lombardo Radice Gramsci describes how he ran the Club.

It works out like this: I, who have had to accept the role of excubitor, because I began the association, assign a paper to some young person: a chapter of Croce's 'Cultura e vita morale'; Salvemini's 'Problemi educativi e sociali', or his French Revolution or 'Cultura e laicità', the Communist Manifesto or the Commentary of Croce in *Critica*, or something else, which, however, reflects the existing idealist movement; then I or someone else replies.¹³⁷

In the suburbs, however, where his audiences usually numbered approximately twenty, the method was different. Viglono recalls that Gramsci asked the young listeners of the socialist circle of Barriera di Milano to make a summary of his lecture which he would collect and correct. 'In fact', Viglono continues, 'the summary was an important test, particularly because it was done with added personal impressions and reasoning'.¹³⁸ Viglono and his fellow club members were too intellectually advanced to be obliged to participate, he added.

One can conclude, therefore, that Gramsci envisaged a variety of 'Clubs of Moral Life', some for white-collar workers; others for skilled workers. The 'Clubs of Moral Life' were, in fact, another incarnation of that cultural third pillar of the socialist movement that would supplement the trade union/cooperative and the party. *Il Grido del Popolo* and later *L'Ordine Nuovo* were considered the organs of this third institution of the socialist movement. It is in the opening rounds of his long debate over an association of worker's culture that we can discover some of the intellectual

prerequisites for Gramsci's Marxism that separated it from mainstream socialism and anarchism.

Gramsci, Working-Class Education and the Anarchists

By second nature, Gramsci thought of socialist politics as an extension of cultural enlightenment. During the war, he made his mark and generated deep animosities within the national and local organizations of the Socialist Party through his unorthodox editorship of *Il Grido del Popolo*, but even before his assumption of major responsibility, his one-off broadsheet, *La Città Futura*, received a cool response from the young journalists of *L'Avanguardia*, and veterans such as Maria Giudice and Francesco Barberis. Gramsci remained unperturbed. *La Città Futura* had been aimed at a specific audience of highly skilled and motivated workers who were ambitious enough to attend night school to further themselves.¹³⁹ When he discussed his association of popular culture he always referred to the weaknesses of the Italian educational system, particularly popular education. Turin, he argued, lacked a cultural organization controlled by and acting on behalf of workers. The Università Popolare (People's University), echoing the criticisms of the anarchists of the Ferrer Circle, was a purely bourgeois humanitarian venture. On the contrary, the Association of Culture would have had the extra advantage of supplying trained intellectuals with a suitable task within the socialist movement. Although he did not quote Robert Michels directly, he was most certainly thinking of his prewar study of Italian socialism, particularly his description of how rootless intellectuals became the object of an unhealthy hero worship within the movement.¹⁴⁰ Authoritarianism within the movement was therefore equated by Gramsci with the general low level of education enjoyed by the rank and file. An educated party would be more democratic and libertarian because it would function through a spontaneous rationality ingrained in such micro-institutions as the 'Clubs of Moral Life'. Intellectuals would have an important but clearly defined task serving as members of the socialists' think-tank.

A particularly well-known example, in England, is the Fabian Society, which is a member of the Socialist International. The task of the Society is that of debating exhaustively and in depth, all economic and moral problems which the proletariat has encountered or will encounter in the course of its life and it has succeeded in recruiting a very significant segment of the English intellectual and academic world to this task of civilisation, of liberating minds.¹⁴¹

Gramsci's conception of socialist education and culture was democratic, participatory and libertarian but it had little in common with rationalist free thought. During the debate over the Association of Culture, Gramsci's chief targets of criticism were what he believed to be anarchist or socialist pie-in-the-sky utopianism. Nowhere is this more evident than in his vitriolic hatred of prewar anarchism's and socialism's favourite shibboleth: Esperanto.

Esperanto was a popular course at the Università Popolare and the Ferrer Circle. Gramsci thought it stuff and nonsense. Ezio Bartolini, the editor of the pacifist *La Pace* of La Spezia, and a man with close ties with the anarchists, was also friendly to Gramsci in 1916 when he was billeted in Turin. He recalled Gramsci's long discussions about linguistics and his fascination with dialects. Even as a full-time journalist Gramsci remained in contact with his linguistics professor, Umberto Cosmo, who had taught him that languages were the unique representation of a national or regional culture. Attempts, therefore, to create artificial world languages were less than pathetic; they were pernicious because they evinced an abstract cosmopolitanism characteristic of many socialist and anarchist militants. Italian socialism could only be grounded in Italian conditions; artificial cosmopolitanism retarded the emergence of a true and realistic socialist internationalism.¹⁴²

As a marginal Sardinian student Gramsci had developed an appreciation for the power and dignity that nation-building languages could supply to oppressed groups, and he was, therefore, a keen critic and historian of the linguistic history and pedagogical controversies surrounding the Italian language. He was sensitive to the tension created between metropolitan languages and their country bumpkin dialect cousins. Languages held the key to codes, and these codes were translated into power. As a socialist and revolutionary he was very exercised about how the ordinary people of Italy might come to share in, or totally displace, the oligarchical elites' monopoly. Indeed as Francesco Lo Piparo shows in his interesting book, the very relationship between high-prestige and lower-prestige speech communities may have served as a metaphor for the conception of hegemony.¹⁴³ Gramsci therefore savaged Esperanto, but Esperanto was just part and parcel of the broader syndrome of 'free thought', his real target.

As a follower of both Croce and Sorel, who were well known for their attacks on Masonic free thought, it is not surprising that Gramsci would be extremely hostile to one of the Italian left's most long-cherished beliefs.¹⁴⁴ The free thinker was for Gramsci the mirror image of the Jesuit. In March 1918 Gramsci's ideal-typical free thinker happened to be the

anarchist editor of Milan's *L'Università Popolare*, Luigi Molinari, who had published in pamphlet form, a lecture he gave in 1917 on the Paris Commune (*Il dramma della Comune*, Milan, 1918). Gramsci dismissed Molinari's pamphlet as lacking any historical analysis, of being an historical romance, a mere pyrotechnical entertainment. Molinari left his audience without any critical sense of cause and effect; without an educational value whatsoever. Molinari's lecture was a particularly depressing example of the educational weakness of free thought.¹⁴⁵

The anarchists were scandalized and just before his own death in 1918, Molinari responded personally to Gramsci.¹⁴⁶ But nearer to home a young socialist recently arrived from Apulia, Alfonso Leonetti, felt that Gramsci may have been unduly harsh towards Molinari. According to Leonetti Molinari had helped enormously in the vulgarization and dissemination of science and history. Molinari was extremely popular in Apulia, and indeed Molinari had helped Leonetti in his steps towards a career in socialist journalism.¹⁴⁷ What the suburban socialists or anarchists made of Gramsci's invective is not known; but he did not relent. In June 1918 he summarized his criticism of free thought in an article entitled 'Libero Pensiero e Pensiero Libero' where Crocean and Gentilean overtones predominate. After his drubbing in the anarchist press, Gramsci directed his article at the assumptions he believed had been behind Molinari's pamphlet. Molinari's 'world view' was 'libero pensiero' (free thought), which was a 'a philistine, bourgeois expression and was caused by Jacobin individualism; that is why we find grouped around it Freemasons, Radicals and . . . libertarians'. Free thought was therefore the mindset of old-fashioned prewar *bloccardismo*, but his Marxist 'pensiero libero' instead was a form of libertarian historicism that had little in common with this tradition and looked to Croce and Antonio Labriola for its inspiration.

Indeed, Gramsci advanced the opinion that the anarchists, or at least their leaders and theoreticians, were less libertarian than Marxist socialists of the historicist stamp. As these socialists were able to think 'freely' and 'historically', they were able to take on contradictory arguments and enrich their own thought by overcoming them. On the other hand 'in as much as the libertarians are intolerant dogmatists, slaves to their own particular opinions', they 'sterilize' debate with their petty arguments.¹⁴⁸

Gramsci's encounters with the free thinkers helped more clearly to define his unusual position within Italian socialist political culture. In most respects he was outside its accepted boundaries. Gramsci was never prepared to accept the force-feeding of culture, ideology or language to the working class. Nor, for that matter, did he accept a naive populist celebration of the particularism of the province or the vanishing small-

scale community. He did not praise the 'childlike' simplicity of the common people as he believed that the more fortunate classes in Italy had for too long possessed a monopoly on 'real' Italian and its humanist code, which controlled secondary and tertiary education. He was critical of Molinari's efforts at vulgarization because they did not supply the lower classes with the mental equipment with which they could combat the dominance of the humanist middle classes, not only in society generally but within the PSI itself.

In a series of wartime articles on the shortcomings of the Italian educational system Gramsci pointed to its failure to create an adequate form of technical education, its dilution of the original meritocratic intent of the 1859 Casati Law, to the ensuing dominance by the southern humanist graduate of government, which in turn led to an incompetent and anti-democratic corps of civil servants.¹⁴⁹ Gramsci's form of universal education would reinstate the meritocratic promise through consensual discipline, the rationally accepted discipline of a highly trained and autonomous mind. Of course there is more than a whiff of Gentile in all of this, but to the extent to which he wanted the common people to be able to control their controllers, there was something not only profoundly libertarian about it, but equally prophetic. In another wartime article Gramsci looked forwards to a socialist society and feared that it might be divided between a mass of passive individuals and a new techno-scientific ruling class. If the experts and technicians capable of fully developing the means of production and exchange remain 'a narrow uncontrolled minority', due to the logic of things, 'they necessarily will become privileged, and will impose their own dictatorship.'¹⁵⁰

Conclusion: Gramsci on Alliances

Within Italy and throughout Europe new alliances were created by the strains of the war. This international radical left arose from a combination of inherently mutually hostile groupings: some were pacifist; some social democrat; some anarchist or syndicalist. Gramsci is an excellent example of how observant radicals could tap into a network that was once magnified and then rapidly diminished by the orthodoxy of the Bolshevik Revolution. Although anarchists, socialists and pacifists engaged in an uneasy alliance against state repression during the war, once politicians or intellectuals attempted to mould mass movements from the initial radicalization of the years 1916-17, differences quickly reappeared.¹⁵¹ For Gramsci, local, national and even international campaigns by united fronts of socialists and anarchists in opposition to the war or for the freedom of the imprisoned

Italo-American Wobbly, Carlo Tresca, were useful and hopeful developments.¹⁵² However, Gramsci opposed politically inspired united fronts of anarchists and socialists in Turin or in Italy. Between 1916 and early 1918, Gramsci took part in a debate in the Italian socialist press on this subject, sparked off by private and public exchanges between Luigi Fabbri for the anarchists and Serrati for the PSI.¹⁵³ Indeed the Florentine maximalist socialist, Spartaco Lavagnini, proposed a syndicalist-style Third International. Lavagnini was on very good terms with the anarchist leader of the wartime USI, Armando Borghi, and its newspaper, *Guerra di Classe*, was published in Florence in 1917–18. Lavagnini and Mario Trozzi, a local lawyer and legal counsel for the SFI, both wrote for the syndicalist journal and it was Trozzi's legal study that was used for a meeting of the socialist 'rigids' in November 1917 at which Gramsci was denounced by the Florentines for his neo-idealist philosophizing.¹⁵⁴ Lavagnini's intervention is also a good example of the previously mentioned international network of anti-war rebels. His article had been inspired by a letter from Errico Malatesta sent from his exile in London to Borghi and printed in *Guerra di Classe*.¹⁵⁵ Malatesta proposed a new international (La Mondiale) which would have included all anti-war socialists, syndicalists and anarchists and would have certainly not been based on the militarized discipline of Lenin's later Third International.

Gramsci's intervention in the debate was pitched at two levels. First, Gramsci wanted to contest the commonly held opinion that anarchists or syndicalists were more revolutionary than socialists – an opinion that, as I have demonstrated in Chapter Two, was quite widespread in the suburbs of Turin. Revolutionary politics, he wrote, should not be equated with gladiatorial posturing or with 'violent language', as the history of Italian syndicalism had demonstrated the pitfalls of this approach.¹⁵⁶ Gramsci also wanted to distance his socialism from Lavagnini's heterodoxy. Not only did the antiparlamentarianism of Malatesta and the anarchists pose an obstacle to formal unity, their mentality (here Gramsci repeats ideas advanced in his dissection of free thought) was ahistorical and doctrinaire. International alliances such as Malatesta's La Mondiale undermined Gramsci's conception of socialist politics. External discipline through umbrella organizations was not sufficient to keep party members together. Only an internal discipline that was the result of agreement between 'thought and action' and by the coherence between 'general principles and the interpretations of particular contingencies' would assure success.¹⁵⁷ Joint agreements with anarchists and syndicalists were based on the exigencies of the moment, they were, in short, the type of working-class action expressed during the Red Week, that touchstone of Gramsci's

radicalism before the rising in August 1917 and the Bolshevik Revolution supplanted it.¹⁵⁸

Notes

1. I review the literature on the early Gramsci, see, C. Levy, 'A New Look at the Young Gramsci', *Boundary 2*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1986, pp. 31–48. The standard account of his life is Giuseppe Fiori, *Vita di Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary*, London, 1970. See also S.F. Romano, *Antonio Gramsci*, Turin, 1965; J.M. Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism*, Stanford, 1967; L. Paggi, *Antonio Gramsci e il Moderno Principe*, Rome, 1970; S. Suppa, *Il primo Gramsci. Gli scritti politici giovanili (1914–1918)*, Naples, 1976; J. Joll, *Antonio Gramsci*, London, 1977; G. Bergami, *Il giovane Gramsci e il marxismo: 1911–1918*, Milan, 1977; A. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci: Towards an Intellectual Biography*, London, 1977; W. L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory*, Berkeley, 1980; A.A. Santucci, *Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937)*, Rome, 1987; D. Germino, *Antonio Gramsci. Architect of a New Politics*, Baton Rouge, 1990; D. Schecter, *Gramsci and the Theory of Industrial Society*, Aldershot, 1991; R. Bellamy and D. Schecter, *Gramsci and the Italian State*, Manchester, 1993; D. Losurdo, *Antonio Gramsci dal liberalismo al comunismo critico*, Rome, 1997.

The best overviews of Gramsci interpretation are G.C. Jocteau, *Leggere Gramsci: Una guida alle interpretazioni*, Milan, 1975; C. Mouffe (ed.), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London, 1979; A. Showstack Sassoon (ed.), *Approaches to Gramsci*, London, 1982; J. Buttigieg (ed.), 'Gramsci' (A Special Issue: The Legacy of Antonio Gramsci), *Boundary 2*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1986. See also the volumes of Gramsci conferences held in Italy: *Studi gramsciani: Atti del convegno tenuto a Roma nei giorni 11–13 gennaio 1958*, Rome, 1958; P. Rossi (ed.), *Gramsci e la cultura contemporanea*, two volumes, Rome, 1969; F. Ferri (ed.), *Politica e storia in Gramsci*, two volumes, Rome, 1977; F. Sbarberi (ed.), *Teoria politica e società industriale: ripensare Gramsci*, Turin, 1988; G. Boatti and A. Catone (eds), *Gramsci e la critica dell'americanismo*, Milan, 1989; R. Giacomini, D. Losurdo and M. Martelli (eds), *Gramsci e l'Italia. Atti del convegno internazionale*

di Urbino 24–25 gennaio 1992, Naples, 1994. For the most comprehensive overview of works throughout the world see, J. M. Cammett, *A Bibliography of the Works of Antonio Gramsci: Published in 27 Languages 1930–1997*, Rome, 1997.

For the 'various Gramscis' see the works mentioned above as well as A. Davidson, 'The Varying Seasons of Gramscian Studies', *Political Studies*, vol. 20, no. 4, 1972; K. Nield and J. Seed, 'Waiting for Gramsci', *Social History*, vol. 6, no. 6, 1981, pp. 209–27; S. Gundle, 'The Legacy of the Prison Notebooks: Gramsci, the PCI and Italian Culture during the Cold War Period', in C. Duggan and C. Wagstaff (eds), *Italy in the Cold War: Politics, Culture and Society 1948–58*, Oxford, 1995.

Among the many good studies of Gramsci's political theory see, C. Boggs, *Gramsci's Marxism*, London, 1976; P. Anderson, 'The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci', *New Left Review*, no. 100, 1976–7, pp. 5–78; L. Kolakowski, 'Antonio Gramsci: Communist revisionism', *Main Currents of Marxism*, vol. 3, Oxford, 1978, pp. 220–52; A. Showstack Sassoon, *Gramsci's Politics*, London, 1980; P. Bonetti, *Gramsci e la società liberaldemocratica*, Bari, 1980; J. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought*, Oxford, 1981; J. Hoffman, *The Gramscian Challenge: Coercion and Consent in Marxist Political Theory*, Oxford, 1984; F. Sbarberi, *Gramsci: un socialismo armonico*, Milan, 1986; M.A. Finocchiaro, *Gramsci and the History of Dialectical Thought*, Cambridge, 1988; Schecter, *Gramsci*; Bellamy and Schecter, *Gramsci*.

2. See Nairn's acerbic comments, 'Antonio Su Gobbu', in Showstack Sassoon, *Approaches*, p. 161. See also P. Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism*, London, 1976, p. 54 and Germino, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 2–26.
3. A. Tasca, *I primi dieci anni del PCI*, Bari, 1971, pp. 86–90.
4. Paggi, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 3–80; Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 94–157. In general Bergami, *Il giovane*.
5. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 37–47.
6. Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 84.
7. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 54.
8. Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 56; Schecter, *Gramsci*, p. 56.
9. For the general context see A. Asor Rosa, 'La cultura', *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 4, pt. ii, Turin, 1975; R. Wohl, *The Generation of 1914*, London, 1980, pp. 160–79.
10. A. Romanò (ed.), *La Voce 1908–1914*, Turin, 1960; L. Chiti, *Cultura e politica nelle riviste fiorentine del primo novecento, 1903–1915*,

- Turin, 1972; E. Gentile, *La Voce e l'età giolittiana*, Milan, 1974; R. Luperini, *Letteratura e ideologie nel primo novecento italiano*, Pisa, 1975; U. Carpi, *La voce letteratura e primato degli intellettuali*, Bari, 1975; W. Adamson, *Avant-Garde Florence. From Modernism to Fascism*, Cambridge MA, 1993.
11. Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 82–100; Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 94–107; Bergami, *Il giovane Gramsci*; R. Bellamy, *Liberalism and Modern Society*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 105–56.
12. A. Asor Rosa, 'La Cultura', *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 1260; Bonetti, *Gramsci*; Gentile, *La Voce*, pp. 66–8; Adamson, *Avant-Garde Florence*, Cambridge MA, p. 264; Bellamy and Schecter, *Gramsci*, pp. 12–13; J. Martin, 'Hegemony and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Gramsci', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1997, pp. 37–56.
13. E. E. Jacobitti, *Revolutionary Humanism and Historicism in Modern Italy*, New Haven, 1981; R. Bellamy, *Modern Italian Social Theory: Ideology and Politics from Pareto to the Present*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 72–114.
14. As quoted in Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 74. For the influence of Croce and Gentile see, R. Bellamy, 'Gramsci, Croce and the Italian Political Tradition', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1990, pp. 313–57. On the connection between Bergsonian and Sorelean motifs see, M. Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde*, Princeton, 1993.
15. The two standard biographies of Amadeo Bordiga are A. De Clementi, *Amadeo Bordiga*, Turin, 1971; F. Livorsi, *Amadeo Bordiga*, Rome, 1976.
16. G. S. Cherchi, *Togliatti a Sassari 1908–1911*, Rome, 1972; G. Bocca, *Palmiro Togliatti*, pp. 3–8; A. Agosti, *Palmiro Togliatti*, Turin, 1996, pp. 6–14.
17. U. Terracini, *Intervista sul comunismo difficile*, Bari, 1978, pp. 5–7; A. Agosti, 'Terracini, Umberto', in A. Andreucci and T. Detti, *Il movimento operaio italiano. Dizionario biografico*, vol. 5, Rome, 1978, p. 37.
18. A. Riosa, *Angelo Tasca socialista*, Venice, 1979, pp. 14–36; A. J. De Grand, *In Stalin's Shadow: Angelo Tasca and the Crisis of the Left in Italy and France, 1910–1945*, De Kalb, 1986, pp. 4–20.
19. Tasca, *I primi dieci*, pp. 88–9.
20. A. Gramsci, *Cronache torinesi* (hereafter CT) (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Turin, 1980, pp. 89–90.
21. See Fiori for Gramsci's mental state. For Togliatti, Bocca, *Togliatti*, p. 9.

22. A. Gramsci, *Scritti 1915-1921* (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Milan, 1976, pp. 265-6 (hereafter *Scritti 1915-1921*).
23. For Gramsci's relationship to interventionism, see Tasca, *I primi dieci*, pp. 87-94. On Gramsci's journalism see L. Paggi, 'La "redazione culturale" del *Grido del popolo*', *Critica Marxista*, Quaderno 3, 1967, pp. 154-74; V. Gerratana, 'Gramsci "giornalista"', *Critica Marxista*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1968, pp. 171-8; R. Martinelli, 'Una polemica del 1921 e l'esordio di Gramsci sull'*Avanti!* torinese', *Critica Marxista*, vol. 10, no. 5, 1972, pp. 149-68; G. Bergami, 'Una discussione sul giornale dei giovani socialisti. Gramsci e *La Città Futura*', *Almanacco Piemontese-Armanach Piemontois*, vol. 3, 1979, pp. 65-9. For the English translations of Gramsci's *appunti* on journalism in the *Prison Notebooks*, see 'Notes on Journalism', *Telos*, no. 32, 1977, pp. 139-51 and A. Gramsci, *Selections for Cultural Writings* (eds. D. Forgacs and G. Nowell-Smith and translated W. Boelhower), London, 1985, especially pp. 386-426.
- I summarize the material in Levy, 'A New Look'.
24. *CT*, pp. 10-15. On Mussolini's socialist politics see R. De Felice, *Mussolini il rivoluzionario*, Turin, 1965, pp. 180-200.
On the 'little Mussolinis', see *CT*, pp. 97, 109, 122, 272, 347-9; 449-50, 756.
25. *CT*, pp. xii-xx.
26. *CT*, pp. xvi-xvii.
27. Besides *CT*, see the two other volumes edited by Sergio Caprioglio, *La città futura: 1917-1918*, Turin, 1982; *Il nostro Marx: 1918-1919*, Turin, 1984 (henceforth *CF* and *NM* respectively).
28. P. Piccone, 'From Spaventa to Gramsci', *Telos*, no. 31, 1977, pp. 35-66.
29. On Labriola see L. Dal Pane, *Antonio Gramsci nella politica e nella cultura italiana*, 2nd edn, Turin, 1975; Jacobitti, *Revolutionary Humanism*; Kolakowski, *Main Currents*, pp. 175-92; Bellamy, *Modern Italian*, pp. 54-71; Bellamy and Schecter, *Gramsci*.
30. Asor Rosa, 'La cultura', p. 1040.
31. M. Tronti, 'Tra materialismo dialettico e filosofia della prassi', A. Caracciolo and G. Scalia (eds), *La città futura*, Milan, 1959; E. Garin, 'La formazione di Gramsci e Croce', *Critica Marxista*, Quaderno 3, 1967, pp. 119-33; P. Piccone, 'Labriola and the Roots of Eurocommunism', *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, vol. 12, 1977-8, pp. 3-48.

Andrea Catone argues that Antonio Labriola was relatively unimportant until Gramsci bolshevized his Marxism in the middle

- 1920s. See, A. Catone, 'Gramsci, la tradizione socialista e il problema della mancata ricezione del marxismo', in R. Giacononi, D. Losurdo and M. Martelli (eds), *Gramsci e l'Italia*, Urbino, pp. 243–76.
32. N. Badaloni, *Il marxismo di Gramsci*, Turin, 1975.
33. G. Procacci, 'Antonio Labriola e la revisione del marxismo attraverso l'epistolario con Berstein e con Kaustky, 1895–1904', *Annali della Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, vol. 3, 1960, pp. 321–8; G. Berti, *Francesco Saverio Merlino. Dall'anarchismo socialista al socialismo liberale*, Milan, 1993, pp. 343–54.
34. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 69, 80, 104, 105; Romano, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 80; G. Mastroianni, *Vico e la rivoluzione. Gramsci e il diamat*, Pisa, 1979, pp. 7–25, 93–115.
35. Levy, 'A New Look', pp. 38–45.
36. For Italian cooperation see G. Sapelli (ed.), *Il movimento cooperativo in Italian*, Turin, 1981. For the use of cooperatives during the First World War see V. Zamagni, *The Economic History of Italy 1860–1990. Recovery from Decline*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 205–6.
37. P. Spriano, *Storia di Torino Operaio e Socialista*, Turin, 1972, pp. 447–8.
38. For Gramsci's articles on the 1916 debate see *CT*, pp. 569–87, 589–91, 594–7, 600–3.
39. *CT*, pp. 597–8. For the prefigurative nature of reformist socialism and the prewar cooperative movement, see M. Degl'Innocenti, *Geografia e Istituzioni del socialismo italiano 1892–1914*, Naples, 1983, pp. 138–59. For the struggle between small shopkeepers and socialist cooperatives in prewar Milan see, J. Morris, *The Political Economy of Shopkeeping in Milan 1886–1922*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 145–6. Morris shows that shopkeepers were not 'transient social actors'. Also see J. Morris, 'Retailers, Fascism and the Origins of the Social Protection of Shopkeepers in Italy', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1996, pp. 285–318. Morris highlights the tensions between wholesalers and shopkeepers, p. 296.
40. *CT*, pp. 597–8.
41. *CF*, pp. 513–17.
42. *CT*, pp. 589–91; Levy, 'A New Look', p. 40. For the weakness of the Italian food supply system in the period 1915–1917, see Zamagni, *The Economic History*, pp. 216–17; M. C. Dentoni, '"Questione alimentare" e "questione sociale" durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale in Italia', *Società e Storia*, no. 37, 1987, pp. 607–36. Morris gives examples from the prewar reformist socialist press that are rather similar to Gramsci's remarks in 1916, see J. Morris, *The Political Economy*, p. 274.

43. CT, pp. 600–3.
44. CT, p. 600. For the English translation, see R. Bellamy (ed.), *Antonio Gramsci Pre-Prison Writings*, translated by Virginia Cox, Cambridge, 1994, p. 15.
45. CT, p. 600, Bellamy, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 16.
46. CT, p. 601.
47. CF, p. 677.
48. NM, p. 410. For the Italian socialists and Woodrow Wilson, see B. Tobia, 'Il partito socialista e la politica di W. Wilson (1916–1919)', *Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 6, 1974, pp. 275–303.
49. NM, pp. 236–7.
50. NM, pp. 169–70.
51. CF., p. 118.
52. F. Bracco, 'Il giovane Gramsci e Sorel', in V. Comparato (ed.), *Georges Sorel. Studi e ricerche*, Florence, 1974, pp. 177–195; Badaloni, *Il marxismo*; G. L. Giosis, 'Gramsci e Sorel', in V. Melchiorre, C. Vigna and G. De Rosa (eds), *Antonio Gramsci e il pensiero teorico e politico: la questione leninista*, Rome, 1979, pp. 79–90; Roth, *The Cult of Violence. Sorel and the Sorelians*, Berkeley, 1980; M. Malatesta, 'Gramsci e il sindacalismo rivoluzionario. Riflessioni sul rapporto tra analisi storiografico e giudizio di valore', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1981, pp. 327–7.

Darrow Schechter emphasizes the importance of Sorel for Gramsci in 1916–18 but sees less impact on his thought and actions in 1919–20. I would disagree since Gramsci's productivist council communism is deeply Sorelian (see below Chapter Five). For D. Schechter see, 'Two Views of the Revolution: Gramsci and Sorel, 1916–1920', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 12, no. 5, 1990, pp. 633–53.

Bellamy and Schechter stress the syndicalist influence on the Gramsci of 1916–18, see *Gramsci*, p. 20, but perhaps they fail to differentiate sufficiently between Gramsci's positive attitude towards Sorel and his more critical evaluation of Arturo Labriola and Enrico Leone.

53. G.B. Furiozzi, *Sorel e L'Italia*, Florence, 1976, pp. 50–2, 64, 79–80, 95–6; S. Onufrio, *Sorel e il marxismo*, Urbino, 1979, pp. 89–97, 113–21, 127, 139, 147, 154, 194; Roth, *The Cult of Violence*, p. 10.
54. E. Santarelli, *La revisione del marxismo in Italia*, Milan, 1964; E. Zagara, *Marxismo e revisionismo. Bernstein Sorel Graziadei Leone*, Naples, 1975. One commentator has drawn parallels between Gramsci and Italian juridical idealism. See, G. Morabito, 'Antonio Gramsci e l'idealismo giuridico italiano. Du tesi a confronto', *Storia e Politica*, vol. 18, no. 4, 1979, pp. 744–55.

55. *Scritti 1915-1921*, p. 138.
56. M. G. Rosada, *Le università popolari*, Rome, 1975. For Gramsci's position on education, see A. Broccoli, *Antonio Gramsci e l'educazione come egemonia*, Florence, 1972; H. Entwistle, *Antonio Gramsci: Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics*, London, 1979.
57. 29 January 1916, *Il Grido del Popolo*, Turin. The English translation is in A. Gramsci, *Selections from Political Writings 1910-1920* (selected and edited by Quintin Hoare, translated by John Matthews, London, 1977), (hereafter *SPWT*) pp. 11-12. In Italian see *CT*, pp. 99-103. Gramsci refers to Enrico Leone's 'Democrazia in Frantumi' ('Democracy in Pieces'), *Guerra di Classe*, Florence, 15 January 1916. An idea of the article can be gauged from the following passage:
The modern worker learns much more through his class instincts than from the book of official knowledge . . . Therefore, there is no salvation but in workerism, in the classes with calloused hands and brains uncontaminated by culture . . . They [the ignorant, CL] will be the heirs of democracy.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Scritti 1915-1921*, pp. 279-82, 'La preparazione della rivoluzione borghese', *Grido del Popolo*, 6 May 1916. The title is Gramsci's. It is the 27th paragraph of Chapter 19 of De Sanctis's *Storia della letteratura italiana*.
60. *CT*, p. 602; Bellamy, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 17.
61. The theme of the passive revolution dominated the 1977 Gramsci Institute conference. For a precise statement see C. Buci-Glucksmann, 'State, Transition and Passive Revolution', in Mouffe, *Gramsci*, pp. 168-204. I also discuss this aspect of Gramsci's thought in C. Levy, 'Max Weber and Antonio Gramsci', in W. Mommsen and J. Osterhammel (eds), *Max Weber and His Contemporaries*, London, 1987, pp. 396-400.
62. 4 May 1918, *Il Grido del Popolo*, Turin; *NM*, pp. 3-7.
63. 5 May 1918, *Il Grido del Popolo*, Turin. The title is Gramsci's. The excerpt is taken from Antonio Labriola's *Del materialismo storico. Dillucidazione preliminare*, 3rd paragraph, Rome, 1902, pp. 12-17. See *Scritti 1915-1921*, pp. 344-8. For the relationship between Weber's thesis about the effects of Protestantism on capitalism, see Levy, 'Max Weber', pp. 386-8, 396, 398-9.
64. *CF*, p. 322.
65. M. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci and the Revolution that Failed*, New Haven, 1977, p. 14.
66. See Giovanna Procacci, 'Popular Protest and Labour Conflict in Italy,

- 1915–1918', *Social History*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1989, pp. 31–58; P. Corner and Giovanna Procacci, 'The Italian Experience of "Total" Mobilization, 1915–1920', in J. Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 223–40.
67. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 14.
68. S. Musso, *Gli operai di Torino 1900–1920*, Milan, 1980, p. 125; Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, 13–14.
69. Musso, *Gli operai*, p. 129.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 169–71; B. Bezza, 'Social Characteristics, Attitudes, and Politics of the Strike Behaviour of the Metalworkers in Italy during the First World War', in L. H. Haimson and C. Tilly (eds), *Strikes, Wars and Revolutions in an International Perspective. Strike Waves in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 408.
71. A. Camarada and S. Peli, *L'altro esercito, La classe operaia durante la prima guerra mondiale*, Milan, 1980; Bezza, 'Social Characteristics', pp. 404–6; G. Berta, 'The Interregnum: Turin, Fiat and Industrial Conflict between War and Fascism', in C. Wrigley (ed.), *Challenges of Labour. Central and Western Europe 1917–1920*, Routledge, 1993, pp. 107–8, 110.
72. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 22. For similar attitudes of women in Barcelona during the First World War see, T. Kaplan, *Red City. Blue Period. Social Movements in Picasso's Barcelona*, Berkeley, 1992, pp. 117–25. For women in Milan see, J.M. Foot, 'Socialist-Catholic Alliances and Gender. Work, War and the Family in Milan and Lombardy, 1914–1921', *Social History*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1996, pp. 37–53.
73. Musso, *Gli operai*, pp. 162–82; D.H. Bell, *Sesto San Giovanni: Workers, Culture and Politics in an Italian Town, 1880–1922*, New Brunswick, 1986, pp. 85–106; D. Bigazzi, *Il Portello. Operai, tecnici e imprenditori all'Alfa-Romeo 1906–1926*, Milan, 1988, pp. 153–320.
74. B. Bezza, *Salario e cannoni. Tra la fabbrica e il fronte durante la grande guerra*, Rome, 1986; L. Tomassini, 'Industrial Mobilization and State Intervention in Italy in the First World War: Effects on Labour Demand', in L. Haimson and G. Sapelli (eds), *Strikes, Social Conflict and the First World War*, *Annali della Biblioteca G. G. Feltrinelli*, vol. 27, 1990/1991, pp. 179–211; F. Adler, *Italian Industrialists from Liberalism to Fascism, 1906–1934*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 106–7.
75. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 258.
76. F. Livorsi, 'Il socialismo in Piemonte dalla grande guerra all'occupazione delle fabbriche', in A. Agosti and G. Bravo (eds), *Storia del*

movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte, vol. 2, Bari, 1979, p. 360.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 370, 383.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 360.
79. T. Detti, 'Boero, Giovanni', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio*, vol. 1, Rome, 1975, pp. 332–3.
80. 'Beruti, Carlo', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio*, vol. 1, Rome, 1975, pp. 258–9; 'Beruti, Carlo', ACS, CPC 544.
81. A. Camparini, 'Lotte sociali e organizzazioni femminili 1880–926', in Agosti and Bravo, *Storia del movimento operaio*, vol. 2, p. 455.
82. For Gramsci's obituary of Giudice's husband, see CF, pp. 177, 424–5. For Togliatti's interventionism see, Bocca, *Palmiro Togliatti*, pp. 19–22; Agosti, *Palmiro Togliatti*, pp. 16–18.
83. M. Revelli, 'Intervista a M. Garino', Ms., Turin, 1975, p. 72.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
85. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 364. On Mombello see, *La Scuola Moderna. Bollettino Semestriale Editto dal Circolo di Cultura 'Francesco Ferrer'*, Turin, vol. 1, no. 1, November 1916–April 1917, p. 5.
86. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 358–9.
87. See 'Dal socialismo a l'anarchica', *Il Libertario*, La Spezia, 13 July 1916, p. 2, signed Turin, 5 July 1916. This manifesto was signed by:

Cesare Corrado Qualgino

Giuseppe Rubino	Giuseppe Fiore	Michelle Gilandi
Giuseppe Ballesio	Marco Borghesio	Giuseppe Mombello
Francesco Allolio	Giovanni Filappa	Domencia Della Massa
Giuseppe Cariola	Fedeale Chiocchia	

88. ACS, PS, Serie GI, B59, Assoc. Sovv. Torino, Fascio Giovanile Comunista di Torino, 2, report from the Prefect, 26 August 1916; *Ibid.*, 11 October 1916.
89. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, ACS, PS, B59, Guerra Mondiale, 25 June 1916. On Tresca, see D. Gallagher, *All the Right Enemies. The Life and Murder of Carlo Tresca*, New Brunswick NJ, pp. 55–62.
90. AST, Procura Generale di Torino, moti rivoluzionari, occupazioni fabbriche anni 1918–1920, n. 8446; ACS, ASG (Prima Guerra Mondiale), B123, Report of the Questura, 15 October 1916.
91. V. Mantovani, *Mazurka blu. La strage del Diana*, Milan, 1979, p. 181, footnote 111. G. Carcano, *Cronaca di una rivolta. I moti torinesi del '17*, Turin, 1977, p. 174, footnote 3. For a list of the 'Religiosi', see AST, Procura Generale di Torino.

They were:

1. Cesare Alberti Corrado Quaglino, born 17 March 1900, Turin, student, Istituto Tecnico Sommeiller.
2. Giuseppe Rubino, born 26 November 1898, Naples, carpenter.
3. Francesco Allolio, born 2 October 1887, Monferrato, foundryman.
4. Illario Margarita, born 4 February 1887, Chivasso, worker.
5. Luigi Marano, born 4 February 1891, Turin, stove repairer.
6. Tomasso Elia, born 1 March 1878, Turin, coppersmith.
7. Pietro Bondi, born 27 December 1880, Massa, mechanic.
8. Enrico Amilcare Cherubino, born 22 January 1886, Rimini, painter/varnisher.
9. Alfonso Algria, born 16 June 1887, Frigole, forger.
10. Giuseppe Peletto, born 18 December 1899, Turin, occupation unknown.
11. Giuseppe Emanuel, born 18 October 1889, Mondovì (Cuneo), foundryman/soldier.
12. Davide Elia, born 6 February 1876, Turin, painter/varnisher.
92. Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 174–5; Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 364.
93. AST, Procuratore del Re di Torino, N8446, 12 September 1916.
94. For interesting comments on some of the literature on the rising, see Carcano, *Cronaca*.
95. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 397–8; *CF*, pp. 281–3. On Gramsci's later assertion that the provisioning system was sabotaged by Giolittians, see Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 208–20.
96. Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 52–3.
97. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 410.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 412.
99. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 73. In general, see Musso, *Gli operai*, pp. 162–8.
100. For Guasco, see ACS, CPC 2563. For Mombello, see ACS, CPC 3342.
101. For the meeting of 31 May 1917, see ACS, PS B52, Prima Guerra Mondiale, Report of Prefect to Minister of Interior, 1 June 1917. For the meeting of 23 June 1917, see ACS, PS B52, Prima Guerra Mondiale, Report of Prefect to Minister of Interior, 5 July 1917.
102. For the strike of 5 June 1917, see ACS, PS B52, Prima Guerra Mondiale, Report of Prefect to Minister of Interior, 6 June 1917. For the strike of 2 July, see ACS, PS B52, Prima Guerra Mondiale, Report of Prefect to Minister of Interior, 5 July 1917. Also see S. Ortaggi Cammarosano, *Il prezzo del lavoro. Torino e l'industria del primo '900*, Turin, p. 263.

103. For the Italian anarchists and the Russian Revolution, see P.C. Masini, 'Gli anarchici italiani e la Rivoluzione Russa', *Rivista Storica del Socialismo*, nos. 15/16, 1962, pp. 135-69; S. Fedele, *Una breve illusione. Gli anarchici italiani e la Russia sovietica 1917-1939*, Milan, 1996, pp. 23-39.
104. Masini, 'Gli anarchici', pp. 136-7; L. Bettini, *Bibliografia dell'anarchismo*, vol. I, Florence, 1972, p. 274; Luce Fabbri, *Luigi Fabbri. Storia d'un uomo libero*, Pisa, 1996, p. 113.
105. The broadsheet is found in ACS, PS 1917, B5, Prima Guerra Mondiale.
106. *Ibid.*, report from the Prefect of Ancona, 18 June 1917.
107. For the Italian socialists and the Russian Revolution, see S. Caretti, *La Rivoluzione Russa e il socialismo italiano: 1917-1921*, Pisa, 1974.
108. *Avanti!*, Turin, 15 August 1917, p. 1.
109. Carcano, *Cronaca*, p. 118. For Garino, see Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 79.
110. For *L'Avvenire Anarchico*, see the censored article by Cesare Sobrito reported in Prima Guerra Mondiale, ACS, PS 1918 B31, report from the Prefect of Turin, 19 Sept. 1918. Also see, 'La settimana rossa di Torino 22-27 Agosto 1917. Nei ricordi di un che l'ha vissuto', *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Turin, 14 August 1920, pp. 3-4; Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 421.
111. Also see Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 15-26.
112. Prima Guerra Mondiale, ACS, PS 1918, B31, report from the Prefect of Turin, 5 Oct. 1918.
According to his daughter, Luce, Luigi Fabbri was the author of the leaflet, see Luce Fabbri, *Luigi Fabbri. Storia di un uomo libero*, Pisa, 1996, p. 113.
113. ACS, CPC 313, Barattero, Giuseppe; Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 79; Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 102-3; ACS, PS 1918, B63, Svizzera, Report of an informer in Turin, July 1917.
114. ACS, PS 1918, B63, Svizzera, unsigned note, July 1917, *CF*, pp. 335-6; Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 102-3; PS B63, Report of the Prefect of Rome, 9 October 1917. On Misiano's activities in Switzerland, see F. Bartolotti, *Francesco Misiano*, Rome, 1972, pp. 78-85, especially pp. 82-3.
115. I have relied on the general accounts from Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 416-34; Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 48-140; Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino'. Railwaymen were active in the ensuing riots. However as direct result of the 'fatti', the railwaymen were militarized. Six-

- hundred-and-seventy-seven railwaymen were killed working in war zones between 1915 and 1918, see G. Sacchetti, 'Il sindacato ferroviario italiani durante il 'Biennio Rosso', in M. Antonioli, R. Bernardi and G. Checcozzo (eds), *Il sindacato ferroviario italiani dalle origini al fascismo 1907-1925*, Milan, 1994, pp. 201-2.
116. Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 65-6.
117. See, 'Cronaca dei "fatti di agosti"', *CF*, p. 660.
118. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 84.
119. ACS PS 1917, B124, Prima Guerra Mondiale, report from the prefect of Turin, 24 August 1917, 12.30 p.m.: 'Snipers are reported at Lingotto'; Carcano, *Cronaca*, p. 77.
120. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 82-5; for Minigrucci, see PS B59, Prima Guerra Mondiale, letter July 1917. For Berra, see AST, 'Procura General di Torino'.
121. A. Dadà, 'Gli anarchici italiani fra guerra e reazione', in P. Alatri (ed.), *Storia della società italiana. La disgregazione dello stato liberale*, vol. 21, Milan, 1982, p. 381.
122. Map taken from R. Del Carria, *Proletari senza rivoluzione*, vol. III, Rome, 1976, p. 32.
123. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 426.
124. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 84; Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, p. 433; Carcano, *Cronaca*, pp. 94-5.
125. Spriano, *Storia di Torino*, pp. 467-70. On the moderate reaction of Torinese industrialists to the rioting, see Adler, *Italian Industrialists*, pp. 108-9.
126. Testimony of Antonio Oberti in M. Paulesu Quercioli (ed.), *Gramsci vivo nelle testimonianze dei suoi contemporanei*, Milan, 1977, p. 87; Garino in Paulesu Quercioli, *Gramsci*, p. 64. For 'Le cinque giorni del proletariato', see *CF*, pp. 289-95.
127. Bianco in Paulesu Quercioli, *Gramsci*, p. 27.
128. Viglione in Paulesu Quercioli, *Gramsci*, pp. 126-7.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
130. Caretto in Paulesu Quercioli, *Gramsci*, p. 43.
131. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4.
132. Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 104-5; Livorsi, 'Il socialismo', pp. 362-3; Levi, 'Associazionismo operaio', pp. 526-8.
133. 'Due assedi', 7 May 1916, *Il Grido del Popolo*, Turin, 7 May 1916, *CT*, p. 294.
134. The best account of the Club of Moral Life is in Bergami, *Il giovane*, pp. 121-34, and for biographical details of the 'moral lifers', see Bergami, *Il giovane*, pp. 137-52. On the Gentilean aspects of the

- Club of Moral Life, see G. Turi, *Giovanni Gentile*, Florence, 1995, pp. 267–8.
135. Quoted in Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 79.
136. Paulesu Quericioli, *Gramsci*, p. 124.
137. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 79.
138. Paulesu Quericioli, *Gramsci*, p. 126.
139. *CF*, pp. 105–6.
140. *CF*, p. 498. For the educational tradition of Italian socialism, see P. Audenino, 'Non più eterna iloti: valori e modelli della pedagogia socialista', in L. Rossi (ed.), *Cultura, istruzione e socialismo nell'età giolittiana*, Milan, 1991, pp. 37–54. On Gramsci's educationalism, see Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution*, pp. 39–41.
For socialist hero worship, see C. Levy, 'Charisma and Social Movements: Errico Malatesta and Italian Anarchism', *Modern Italy*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1998, pp. 205–8.
141. *CF*, pp. 499–500. English translation in Bellamy, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 38.
142. For Bartolini's testimony, see *Scritti 1915–1921*, pp. 141–143. For his life, see 'Bartolini, Ezio', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio*, vol. 1, Rome, 1975, pp. 188–9; R. Giacomini, *Antimilitarismo e pacifismo nel primo novecento. Ezio Bartolini e 'La Pace', 1903–1918*, Milan, 1991. On Cosmo, see Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 74–5, 93, 104, 113. For Gramsci's opinions of Esperanto, see *CF*, pp. 668–74; Bergami, *Il giovane*, pp. 70, 92.
143. F. Lo Piparo, *Lingua intellettuale egemonia in Gramsci*, Bari, 1979, pp. 3–11, 58–9, 73–6, 80–3, 90–1, 95, 114–15, 124–5, 150, 174–200. A rather similar approach is taken by Nadia Urbinati, see 'The Souths of Antonio Gramsci and the Concept of Hegemony', in J. Schneider (ed.), *Italy's "Southern Question". Orientalism in One Country*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 135–56.
144. Sorel expressed hostility towards Ferrer on these grounds and thereby alienated many Italian anarchists before the war – see G.B. Furiozzi, 'Sorel e gli anarchici italiani', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1975, pp. 179–88.
145. 'La Comune', *Il Grido del Popolo*, Turin, 16 March 1918, *CF*, pp. 751–2.
146. *NM*, pp. 113–17.
147. Leonetti, *Note sul Gramsci*, Urbino, 1970, pp. 1–138.
148. *NM*, pp. 113–14.
149. *CF*, pp. 105–6.
150. *NM*, p. 75.

151. Good overviews of the origins of unorthodox communism can be found in A. Kriegel, *Aux origines du communisme français, 1914–1920*, vol. 1, Paris, 1964, pp. 282–307; A. Lindemann, *The 'Red Years': European Socialism versus Bolshevism 1919–1920*, Berkeley, 1974; A. Kriegel, 'La crisi rivoluzionaria 1919–20: Ipotesi per la costituzione di un modello', in A. Agosti (ed.), *Problemi di storia dell'Internazionale Comunista (1919–1939)*, Turin, 1974; A. Agosti, 'Le correnti costitutive del comunismo internazionale', in E. Hobsbawm (ed.), *Storia del marxismo*, vol. 3, pt. 1, *Il marxismo nella età della Terza Internazionale*, Turin, 1980, pp. 329–60; C. Sirianni, *Workers' Control and Socialist Democracy. The Soviet Experience*, London, 1982, pp. 307–56. For general overview of European socialism during the First World War, see C. Bertrand (ed.), *Revolutionary Situations in Europe 1917–1922: Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary*, Montreal, 1977 and especially D. Kirby, *War peace and Revolution. International Socialism at the Crossroads 1914–1918*, London, 1986.
152. On these demonstrations, see CT, pp. 519–26, 563–6, 606–7, 610–11.
153. G.M. Serrati, 'Una parola agli anarchici', *Avanti!*, Milan, 1 Feb. 1916, p. 1. See the anarchist response, 'Ireos', 'Per una parola agli anarchici', *Il Libertario*, La Spezia, 13 April 1916, pp. 1–2; Unsigned, 'Per tranquillizzare', *Il Libertario*, 13 April 1916, pp. 1–2. Also see the debate in *Avanti!* with the contributions of Giovanni Zibordi, 2 April 1916; Amadeo Bordiga, 10 April 1916; Italo Toscani, 20 April 1916 and again G. Zibordi, 21 April 1916. The numbers of 16, 23 and 24 May 1916 of *L'Avanguardia* (the FGS newspaper) are also taken up with the debate. See also the debate in 1917/1918: Giuseppe Sotgiu, 'Per la Nuova Internazionale', *L'Avanguardia*, 23–30 December 1917; G. M. Serrati, 'Per la terza Internazionale'; 'Ancora l'Internazionale', *Avanti!*, Milan, 6 and 17 January 1918.
For the private discussions between Fabbri and Serrati see, IISH, Fabbri papers, letter from Serrati to Fabbri dated 27 February 1916. For an anarchist account, see 'Emma' (Ferrero), *Il Libertario*, La Spezia, 15 June 1916, p. 2.
154. For the Florentine socialists and anarchists during the war, see L. Tomassini, 'Classe operaia e organizzazione sindacale durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale: La Camera del Lavoro di Firenze, 1917–1918', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1979, pp. 259–374. On Borghi's activities during the war, see M. Antonioli, *Armando Borghi e l'Unione Sindacale Italiana*, Manduria, 1990, pp. 31–44. The SFI

was important here too. Lavagnini was a railwayman and along with Angelo Sbrana closely associated with Borghi. Trozzi was the legal representative for the SFI, see Sachetti, 'Il sindacato ferrovieri', pp. 175, 211.

155. 'Verzio' (Spartaco Lavagnini), 'La nuova Internazionale', *La Difesa*, 1 December 1917, p. 1. For Lavagnini, see L. Tomassini, 'Lavagnini, Sparataco', in Andreucci and Detti, *Il movimento operaio*, vol. 3, Rome, 1977, pp. 68-71; 'Una lettera di Errico Malatesta' (20 October 1917), *Guerra di Classe*, Florence, 16 November 1917, p. 1.
156. *CT*, pp. 360-1.
157. *CF*, pp. 467-77.
158. *CT*, pp. 76-7; *NM*, p. 354.

The Anarchists in Turin during the *Biennio Rosso*

The Anarchists and Syndicalists during the *biennio rosso*: A National Overview¹

The *biennio rosso* was characterized by much higher (if short-lived) levels of union density, the dramatic growth of the Socialist Party, and the introduction of universal male suffrage and proportional representation. The growth of the anarchist-led *Unione Sindacale Italiana* was stupendous: something in the order of 300,000 to 500,000 workers joined local organizations. However, here one must recall that reformist and maximalist socialism also grew rapidly, as syndicalist growth piggybacked on the even more amazing growth of the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* (CGL) (two million members and perhaps 800,000 in the *Federterra* and 100,000 in *FIOM*). Meanwhile the Italian Socialist Party grew to an astounding membership of 250,000 while organized anarchists (in the *Unione Anarchica Italiana* (UAI)) and local affinity groups attracting 20,000 members or supporters by the summer of 1920. Popularly based Catholic and socialist parties became significant actors in Parliament, replacing prewar notables, but this major revolution in the political system was accompanied by an extraordinary number of industrial strikes, land occupations in the south and extra-parliamentary direct action by the nationalist right and the socialist and libertarian left. The *biennio rosso* concluded with a month-long occupation of engineering and automobile factories in September and massive strikes of agricultural workers in the Po Valley between August and December 1920.

Anarchist strength during the *biennio rosso* can largely be understood by recalling the prewar protest cycles. They were merely enlarged and deepened after the war, but not significantly changed. Three types of issue congenial to anarchists mobilised massive social protest and political strikes during the *biennio rosso*. First, inflation, including the rising price of basic necessities such as bread, caused popular explosions of anger.

Many historians of the *biennio rosso* claim that the most revolutionary moment during this cycle of social protest occurred in May and June 1919 when the so-called cost-of-living riots spread rapidly from central to northern Italy. Frightened shopkeepers handed in the keys to their shops to the local chambers of labour; and for several days many Italians lived under a condition of dual power. Second, anti-militarism and anti-imperialism mobilized an equally vociferous protest in July 1920, recalling similar events six years earlier during the Red Week. A mutiny of troops refusing to leave the port of Ancona for Italian-occupied Albania involved anarchists, who mounted a fierce armed resistance to its suppression for two days. Following the suppression of the uprising and mutiny, anarchist- and USI-led campaigns throughout Italian industry, against war material being manufactured and shipped to Albania or the Whites and Allied troops fighting in the Russian Civil War, received such widespread support as to make the CGL and socialist leadership quite anxious that their rivals might be stealing their thunder and their supporters. Third, the arrival of Malatesta at Christmas 1919 from his exile in London repeated the pattern discerned during the Red Week of 1914. From January to the summer of 1920 Malatesta drew large crowds wherever he spoke. His meetings also provoked further 'proletarian massacres', which in their turn increased social tensions throughout northern Italy. The government had delayed the re-entry of Malatesta for as long as possible because it feared the combined impact of libertarian ginger groups and charismatic leaders such as Malatesta upon the highly charged and dissatisfied populace. However, it was this policy that, in fact, generated the very type of non-sectarian united front from below that the authorities so feared. Maximalist socialists, such as Serrati and Bombacci, anarchists, and the leadership of the railway workers' union (SFI) and the Unione Sindacale often shared platforms. In January 1920, negotiations with left-wing interventionists and D'Annunzio's Fiumian legionaries nearly led to a march on Rome between the unorthodox left and 'social' interventionists, but the militant internationalism of the socialists and the ritual nationalism of much of the middle classes limited the charismatic effect of either a Malatesta or a D'Annunzio. It seems impossible to conceive of army officers and the followers of maximalist socialism cooperating even if the monarchy's credibility had been strained by the war. More than anything else, this incident demonstrates the limits of anarchist and syndicalist influence.

Ideologically, anarchism retained links with anti-clericalism and republicanism but, interestingly enough, many of Bordiga's fellow abstentionist 'scientific socialists' were more willing to work with the anarchists than their highly sectarian leader. Although the *ordinovisti* (followers of

Antonio Gramsci's *L'Ordine Nuovo*) did not spread beyond the confines of Turin, anarchist militants within the factory council movement did have influence amongst anarchists and socialists in the Ligurian industrial city of Savona. However, the role of anarchists in major cities (Florence, Genoa, Milan and Rome) was contested by local maximalist socialists. In Milan, where Malatesta settled and started the first popular anarchist daily, *L'Umanità Nova*, after an initial period of goodwill, the maximalist socialists and the anarchists clashed in the streets. By the summer of 1920 the Roman anarchists and the maximalist socialists were barely on speaking terms. As we shall see, the occupation of the factories in September 1920 saw the anarchists essentially sidelined.

In 1920 Malatesta was concerned to create an anarchist 'party' but became bogged down in quarrels with anti-organizationalists (*galleanisti*), individualists and syndicalists. He met with increasing suspicion by all shades of maximalist socialism outside the libertarian political subculture. Thus the anarchists were still dependent on their heartlands for projecting their strength. The major areas of social protest from the spring of 1919 to the summer of 1920 followed the contours of anarchism's political geography. Strike and protest waves were sparked off from La Spezia (the cost-of-living riots) and Ancona (the 1920 mutiny) and then spread to the northern industrial triangle. The disturbances during the *biennio rosso* were like their prewar counterparts in being of short duration. Just as before 1915 sectarian barriers vanished temporarily as relatively small groups of anarchists, syndicalists and left socialists provided *ad hoc* leadership, so after a few days socialist parliamentarians and by now the immeasurably stronger trade-union leaders regained the upper hand.

Thus, the anarchists never posed a credible alternative to the socialists because of uneven national representation, lack of solid institutions, and internal squabbling. They also failed to supplant the lure of extended suffrage, which their supporters in the 'second culture' happily endorsed. For many rank-and-file leftists, direct action and electoralism were not discrete strategic choices. Anarchism could never guarantee state patronage and possible industrial and land reforms, which still remained highly popular goals even in the midst of social upheaval.

One of the other chief obstacles to an anarchist insurrectional strategy was, in fact, the profoundly pacifist spirit which dominated the core values of the Italian Socialist Party, while the extreme left of maximalists, and followers of Bordiga or Gramsci, were not prepared to launch an insurrection without a new party and, in any case, were suspicious of the ideology and soundness of the libertarians. Yet the failure of anarchist-type direct action goes deeper than the betrayal of timid or prudent leaders. Italy was



Map 4.1 Insurrectionary areas and anarchist predominance in Italy, 1914–1920

neither Tsarist Russia nor even Spain. It was a constitutional liberal state, something the anarchists learned to recall with some nostalgia in the 1920s and 1930s. The liberal state never intended to annihilate the 'subversives'. Instead it was the postwar crisis itself that unsettled the liberal state and overwhelmed the socialists and anarchists, which then allowed an old 'subversive' to teach the state new tricks. Benito Mussolini's movement employing sustained private violence in collusion with sympathetic local prefects and police and army officers, followed by the rapid replacement

of pulverized labour and popular cultural institutions with fascist counterparts, was a break with the earlier forms of repression engineered by the liberal state before 1915. The left was neither prepared for insurrection nor alert to the novelty of fascism.

Numerical Strength and Influence of the Anarchists and Syndicalists in Turin, 1919–20

On 19 December 1919 the prefect of Turin reported to Rome that there were not more than 300 anarchists in the entire province of Turin, and that, of these, only 100 were effectively organized in the *Unione Comunista Anarchica Piemontese*. Seven months later the prefect reported to Rome that the *Unione Sindacale* had few members in comparison to other local left-wing organizations.² Nevertheless, the consensus amongst historians is that anarchists, and even members of the *Unione Sindacale*, were crucial for the birth and evolution of Turin's factory council movement.³

Much of this chapter will therefore be devoted to reconciling the undoubted importance of the libertarians to their lack of large formal organizations. The libertarians were by no means unified so their weaknesses are also revealed through internal sectarian disputes. I will examine the libertarian contribution to the industrial origins of the factory council movement, leaving aside the ideological influences for Chapter Five. I conclude this chapter with an analysis of the attempts by local socialists at alliance-building with my particular focus of attention naturally on the *ordinovisti*.

The anarchists were nearly always represented at meetings organized by the socialists, the Chamber of Labour, FIOM or factory commissars, but they could draw respectable numbers to their own demonstrations. In the spring of 1919, anarchists regularly attracted a 1,000 listeners or more to the AGO to discuss postwar aims. Support for the freedom of anarchists and socialists imprisoned during the war, as well as protests for Malatesta's freedom to repatriate, were very popular with the suburbanites throughout 1919,⁴ and when Malatesta visited Turin immediately after his triumphant return to Italy at the end of 1919, he mobilized the largest crowd in the city for the entire *biennio rosso*. In March 1920 several thousand workers attended an anarchist demonstration in *Barriera di Milano*'s main square to protest against the repression of the Hungarian left and the recent Kapp Putsch in Germany.⁵ During the April strike 2,000 workers marched from *Barriera di Milano* to the *Carcere Nuove* to demand the release of Maurizio Garino after his brief detention. The anarchist presence was significant and controversial at socialist and trade union public meetings in February

and March 1920, and sparked off a bloody incident during the May Day parade two months later. In early June the anarchists held a large demonstration at the AGO and later in early June, after the Anconan rising, anarchists and syndicalists organized highly successful solidarity meetings. They led a limited general strike on 3 July and later in the month were in the vanguard of a solidarity general strike in response to attacks on socialists in Rome. By the summer of 1920 the USI had become a significant force in Torinese industrial relations, competing with the anarchists close to the *ordinovisti*.

Anarchist Organizations

The City Federation

The several hundred Torinese anarchists were the most numerous concentration since the 1880s or early 1890s. Following the national congress in Florence, the Torinese and Piedmontese anarchists organized their own *Unione Comunista Anarchica Piemontese* (founded 26 June 1919).⁶ One year later the UCAP held its second annual congress on 13/14 June 1920. With the second congress of the UAI to be held in Bologna in a fortnight, the agenda was dominated by a heated discussion over the united front and an evaluation of the history of the factory council movement during the previous ten months. In both congresses participants and supporters of *L'Ordine Nuovo* were notable. Indeed Garino, Ferrero and De Bartolomeis dominated the discussion, although individualists such as Sobrito and Margarita added a disruptive note.⁷

The *Unione Comunista Anarchica Torinese* and UCAP were merely umbrella organizations that represented the vitality of neighbourhood anarchist affinity groups. During the *biennio rosso* Turin had at least a dozen local circles (*Gruppo Anarchico Longotto*, *Gruppo Barriera di Nizza*, *Gruppo Barriera di Milano*, *Gruppo San Campodoglio*, *Gruppo Borgo San Donato*, *Gruppo Borgo San Paolo*, *Gruppo Centro*, *Gruppo Germinal*, *Gruppo Martiri di Chicago*, *Gruppo Vanghiglia*, *Gruppo Vindice*, *Gruppo Vittoria*). The Ferrer Circle was again in the forefront of activities in Barriera di Milano. Many of the UCAT meetings were held at its locale. In provincial Piedmont notable concentrations of anarchists were active in Biella, Vercelli, Novara, Alessandria and Cuneo.⁸

Anarchist unity beyond the local affinity group was easily undermined by the disputes of individualists, anti-organizationalist anarcho-communists and the Malatestan anarcho-communist supporters of the UCAT. The Germinal anarchist group (key militants: Giuseppe Rubino, Giuseppe De

Luisi and Cesare Sobrito), as well as Margarita's Refrattari were highly critical of the Malatestans and suspicious of anarchist involvement in FIOM or the socialist-dominated factory council movement.⁹

In response, the supporters of the factory council movement expounded their views in Fabbri's *Volontà* (Ancona) and Pasquale Binazzi's *Il Liberatorio* (La Spezia). During 1920 the Torinese anarchist movement was covered in depth by *Umanità Nova*. Garino, Ferrero, Mosso and De Bartolomeis did most of the writing while Corrado Quagliano became the anarchist daily's staff reporter.¹⁰ Emma Ferrero (b. 1895, Turin) was one of the few women prominent in Torinese anarchism, and under the name 'Armarylles' wrote quite extensively for the anarchist press.¹¹ Finally, another young anarchist published under the characteristic pseudonym 'Sanculotto', and wrote a series of interesting articles for *Umanità Nova* during the April 'clock-hands' strike. Although his real name was never revealed, he has been identified as a Ligurian with an interventionist past.¹² Early in 1919 the Torinese anarchists discussed starting their own newspaper, *L'Alba Anarchica*.¹³ This never saw the light of day. Nevertheless one of the pioneers of Piedmontese anarchism returned to Turin in 1920 and began publishing on 10 January 1920.

Luigi Galleani and Cronaca Sovversiva

After his flight from Italy in the late 1890s, Luigi Galleani lived in North America for nearly twenty years. Galleani was an important figure in anti-organizational anarcho-communism that at times rivalled the influence of Malatesta's current amongst Italian immigrants. Galleani's *Cronaca Sovversiva* was a lively, internationally oriented journal published nearly single handedly, first from Barre, Vermont (home of a substantial group of anarchist quarrymen from Carrara), and later from a suburb of Boston. Galleani's newspaper commented on events in Italy, within the America left and labour movement and interestingly on the Mexican Revolution.¹⁴

Galleani's life in North America was not without incident. Having become involved in a violent textile strike in Paterson, New Jersey in 1901, he was forced to flee to Canada. He later returned clandestinely and settled in Barre. Serrati, then a journalist for New York's *Il Proletario*, apparently identified him, which caused the anarchists to accuse Serrati of being a police spy. In 1903, during a socialist meeting at Barre, an anarchist was shot dead by a socialist. Galleani and Serrati were both present and it was said by the anarchists that Serrati had incited the socialist gunman. After this incident Serrati's reputation was always dogged by the affair. Indeed, upon his arrival in Italy in 1919, Mussolini attempted

to enlist Galleani in a campaign against Serrati mounted by *Il Popolo d'Italia*, but Galleani refused to rise to the bait.¹⁵

Galleani was deported from the United States on 21 June 1919 due to his press campaign against conscription and his close connections to anarchists who had been responsible for a series of bombings. Unlike his six other unlucky comrades, Galleani did not disembark when the ship from New York arrived at Naples, thereby avoiding one month's preventive detention. However, at Genoa he was arrested but after a threatened general strike of all the port's seamen and dockers, he was released. On his return home Galleani was being actively considered as a serious candidate for the editorship of *Umanità Nova*. Although he was an anti-organizationalist, many anarchists thought he was a more fluent and exciting writer than Malatesta. Galleani, however, declined the offer. He gave some well-attended speeches, but for the remainder of 1919 he stayed with his aged father in a hamlet in the Verellese. Galleani was in poor health, and besides the main focus of his concern was the ongoing persecution of the Italo-American anarchists by Attorney-General Palmer.¹⁶

From 17 January to 2 October 1920, Galleani and a small group of anarchists published nineteen issues of a Turin-based *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Concurrently an American edition, entitled *A Storm!* (the title was changed to prevent detection by American officials), was sent to the United States.¹⁷ Galleani was assisted by a fellow deportee, the bookkeeper Raffaele Schiavina (b. 1894 in San Carlo Ferrarese), who had been imprisoned in the United States for one year on charges of draft evasion. Another member of Galleani's group was Pietro Giuseppe Raineri, a Torinese mason (b. 1893) who had deserted from the army to Switzerland and then became involved in smuggling anti-war leaflets into Italy. In 1918 he moved to Germany where he participated with a small group of Italian anarchists, syndicalists and socialists in the Berlin Spartacist uprising.¹⁸

The Torinese edition of *Cronaca Sovversiva* did not enjoy a peaceful life. Of its 19 issues, six were censored, and in October the newspaper closed after its editorial staff were charged with press crimes arising from anti-militarist articles. Galleani invited anti-organizational anarchists such as Margarita, Rubino and other local figures to publish in *Cronaca Sovversiva*,¹⁹ but his own position was perhaps subtler than those of his impetuous Torinese comrades. In some respects he shared many of Malatesta's ideas. Galleani and Malatesta met again at a banquet on the latter's return to Italy. They held each other in deep respect, and although Galleani was opposed to the foundation of the UAI, he endorsed Malatesta's opposition to an exclusive anarchist involvement in the USI. For Galleani and Malatesta anarchists would have to be involved in the

entire labour movement. However, Galleani was critical of the revolutionary and reconstructive potential of the factory councils and therefore in opposition to Garino's, Ferrero's or Malatesta's positions. *Cronaca Sovversiva* was also sceptical of the syndicalist occupation of factories in Sestri Ponente in February 1920; while like other anarchists and socialists he believed the government-imposed sequestration of the Mazzonis textile plant outside of Turin to be politically dangerous.²⁰

Galleani believed in the spontaneity of rolling mass movements, such as these that characterized the *biennio rosso*. He felt that the UAI would dampen down these movements through top-down united fronts with the socialist left. He therefore applauded riots in Mantua in December 1919 and the Ancona mutiny in June 1920.²¹

Although Galleani may have been sharply critical of the Malatesta UAI, in a certain sense he shared Malatesta's first premises concerning the relationship between the individual and the collectivity. Both men believed that organization should not stifle the initiative of individuals. Galleani's anti-organizational stance even led him to be critical of Malatesta's and Fabbri's proposed decentralized action committees. Galleani's optimal unit of political organization does not seem to have transcended intimate affinity groups, such as those he or Schiaviana had been involved with in the suburbs of Boston. Nevertheless, Malatesta and Galleani were joined in a desire to see conscious and steadfast libertarian revolutionaries who could maintain their spirit once the maximalist wave of the *biennio rosso* subsided. Both Malatesta and Galleani were concerned that large socialist parties and trade unions could easily become devices for monopolizing privileges, hurting and alienating unorganized disadvantaged groups into the bargain. Galleani reflected on this in September 1922, after fascism had destroyed the mass organizations of Italian socialism with surprising rapidity.

From my viewpoint one great illusion has collapsed: ... the superstition that large organizations are powerful. After 30 years of organization in Genoa, as in Turin or Milan, and above all in Emilia at Reggio, Modena, Piacenza, Parma, if workers, or it is better to say some categories of workers, have been enticed by a certain type of monopoly of labour, with the lustre of unheard of wages (which soon vanished in front of the fantastic cost of living): neither their faith in their own power, nor their consciousness, nor the courage in their own rights was ever engaged, and the organizations are in a heap of ruins particularly where they had appeared irrepressible, and the rot continues, because at the cost of preserving certain monopolies and avoiding assaults and violence, they have passed from socialism to fascism with an ease that would make one laugh if it did not testify to the uselessness of so many lost years.²²

What influence did Galleani exercise in Turin or Italy in 1919–20? Of the 4,000 copies of *Cronaca Sovversiva* and *A Stormo!* published each issue, most were sent to the USA. Indeed, a great deal of the newspaper was dedicated to the effects of the Palmer Raids and the destruction of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).²³ However, Galleani and his group did retain interest in Italian events and were not without influence in the domestic or local left. Firstly, Galleani was one of the earliest and most acute critics of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. His contribution to the Italian anarchist debate about the dictatorship of the proletariat was important.²⁴ Secondly, his colleague Raffaele Schiavina became a visible and vocal representative for the Torinese anarchists at socialist and trade union sponsored meetings in 1920. Finally, *Cronaca Sovversiva*'s anti-militarist campaign resonated in Turin and throughout Italy. Two anti-militarist articles in *Cronaca Sovversiva* formed the basis for the arrests of Galleani, Schiavina and Ranieri. 'Fratello soldato' ('Brother Soldier') (May 15) and 'La breccia' ('The Breach') (July 3) were linked to the Anconan mutiny. 'Fratello soldato' was turned into a leaflet and distributed in Turin and elsewhere. These appeared in Torinese barracks and even in the Anconan barracks, before the mutiny of the *bersaglieri*. On 30 June, for instance, a Cuneese anarchist was arrested distributing them outside his local barracks. 'La Breccia' celebrated the revolt in Ancona.²⁵ But 'La Breccia' was also disseminated by a small group of anarchists and socialists organized by Maurizio Garino. 'I Senza Patria' also produced their own crude leaflets and spread them throughout Turin in the spring and summer of 1920.²⁶

Terrorists

As in Milan, anti-organizationalist and individualist anarchists sparked off a revival of anarchist terrorism that had been largely absent from Turin since the 1890s. During the April, 1920 'clockhands' strike, Antonio Marione (b. 1900 in Vercelli), a mechanic associated with the Barriera di Milano group, threw two bombs at Royal Guards. He was arrested and later sent to prison for fourteen years. Unknown terrorists exploded bombs at the 1920 May Day march. On 5 May Giuseppe De Luisi (of the *Germinal* group), may have been involved in the May Day bombings. Later he founded a criminal gang with a small group of anarchists, including one woman, Caterina Piolatti (b. 1900 in Aosta), which was involved in a series of armed robberies. During the general strike of 21 July 1920, Guglielmo Musso (b. 1899 in Asti) was horribly disfigured after a bomb

intended for Royal Guards prematurely exploded. Musso was imprisoned after a long convalescence in hospital, but died incarcerated in 1923.²⁷ Other anarchists were alleged to be members of the Red Guards and later the *Arditi del Popolo* (an anti-fascist militia). Giuseppe Rubino and others were arrested for possession of arms during the factory occupations. While some anarchists were involved in several murders that occurred during the dispute.

The USI in Turin, 1919–20

The influence of the *Unione Sindacale* in Turin became noticeable in the summer of 1920. Although the *Unione Sindacale* did not establish an official group until March 1920, the wartime *Fascio Sindacale di Azione Diretta* was largely controlled by anti-FIOM anarchists who had been active in the pre-war *Sindacato Unico*. On the eve of the April 1920 strike the USI's first organizer, Di Donato, made an appearance.²⁸ By June the *Unione Sindacale* was gathering some significant support, and in July a meeting of syndicalist workshop commissars was held and syndicalists directed a tram drivers strike. Syndicalist voices were heard at Michelin, Scat, Ideal and Lancia.²⁹ In August the *Unione Sindacale Torinese* was formally constituted, and a veteran of the *Sindacato Unico*, the mechanic Vittorio Brogi, believed that the brief prewar successes would soon be repeated. To add to parallels with 1911–12, a fairly important peripatetic syndicalist organiser, Nicola Modugno (b. 1895 in Andria) arrived from 'syndicalist' Apulia to help organize the UST.³⁰ While syndicalist militants were few in number, syndicalist issues and styles seem to have circulated quite widely within the politicized working class during the summer of 1920. Endorsement of syndicalist demands were noticed amongst the tram drivers, steel, automobile, engineering and tyre workers, but the syndicalist challenge can be more accurately measured by the widespread support registered in factories for USI/FIOM unity during negotiations with employers, opposition to Giolitti's social insurance law and the USI inspired anti-war work campaign. If FIOM had not embraced the syndicalist idea of an occupation of factories to counter an employer's lockout, the USI may well have won significant support from the politically active working class of Turin.³¹

The Libertarian Contribution to the Origins of the Factory Council Movement: 1918 to early 1919

The Torinese factory council movement arose from both internal structural pressures evident in the wartime metal-working and engineering industries, and the exogenous influences of *L'Ordine Nuovo*.³² In early 1918 the internal commission in Turin were granted rather wide liberties to deal with the questions of piece-rates and discipline. The struggle over what the nature and duties of the internal commissions might entail began almost immediately. In April 1918 Garino and Colombino engaged in a public debate at a regional congress of FIOM.³³

However, it should be borne in mind that these new forms of workshop organization were not rejected out of hand by FIOM's reformist leadership. Colombino or Buoizzi were not opposed to delegating authority to internal commissions, so long as this did not threaten the very integrity of the union itself. Indeed, the reformists and radicals both recognized that one of the primary causes for the growth and radicalization of the internal commissions (which by the summer of 1918 encompassed most of Torinese industry) was the need for some sort of system of grass-roots industrial democracy. Behind the demand lay the ever-increasing numbers of workers joining FIOM.³⁴

By the end of 1919, FIOM had nearly 100,000 members nationally and approximately 20,000 in the province of Turin. This growth of union density was particularly intense in Turin province where FIOM was receiving 1,000 to 1,500 requests for membership per month throughout 1919.³⁵ This unprecedented increase in union members confronted veteran unionists with serious institutional problems. Radicals and the reformists identified in the revived internal commission, shop-floor venues where one could incorporate, politicize and discipline the new mass of recently unionized workers. The differences between reformists and radicals lay in the extent to which they would allow internal commissions to be used as the organizational frontier between the unionized minority and the non-unionized majority. Equally important was the degree to which radicals or reformists would countenance collaboration with employers and the state in postwar Italy.

The reformists anticipated a partnership with productivist and enlightened employers. The Commissionissima was seen as the vehicle through which government, employers and the state would assure an Italian system of industrial democracy. The reformists were aware of the radical temper of factory workers and, in fact, sought to assimilate many of the symbols and conceptions of prewar syndicalism into their moderate version of

industrial democracy. So, for example, at Fiom's important Rome Congress, held in early November 1918, Colombino proposed that the internal commissions 'become permanent organs of "workers' control", dealing with all problems of wages, discipline, etc. under the guidance and leadership of the Unions'.³⁶

However, the reformist plan was given short shrift by the maximalist socialists. Instead a paralyzing compromise between reformists and radicals within socialist and trade union movements resulted from the congresses and conferences of late 1918. By September 1918 the CGL and Fiom had been vetoed from participating in the Commissionissima by the PSI Directorate. The Pact of Alliance between the CGL and the PSI (signed 29 September 1918) was seen as a sop to the trade unionist leadership after this defeat at the hands of the maximalists. Its terms meant that the CGL would call all economic strikes, whilst the PSI Directorate would be responsible for declaring political strikes. How one could differentiate between the two was never made clear. Responsibility in directing the great strikes of the *biennio rosso* ultimately rested on the shoulders of the CGL. However, politically, the symbols and language of maximalism remained pervasive. This was made manifestly clear by the party directorate when in December 1918 it called for the immediate establishment of the socialist republic through a dictatorship of the proletariat.³⁷

This jockeying for position affected the power struggle between radicals and reformists within Fiom. Buoizzi certainly felt on the defensive, as can be seen when at the Rome Congress he responded to the radicals who accused him of reformism by claiming that Fiom's policies were as radical as any in Italy. His speech emphasized that the confederal unionists were in fact more radical than the syndicalists because they were better organized and therefore more capable of implementing their programme.³⁸ The leftism of Fiom consisted precisely in its ability to exercise greater political power within the economy than the maximalist socialists or the syndicalists. Buoizzi buttressed his arguments with examples from abroad. For instance, Merrheim, the French syndicalist anti-war trade union leader of the *metallos*, was worthy of emulation even if his antipathy to the political party was mistaken.³⁹ Similarly, in his report to Fiom at Rome Buoizzi argued that the organized working class was not divided between reformists and syndicalists but over the issue of how radicals policies were to be implemented.⁴⁰

However, as the war drew to a close it was precisely the unreasonable face of syndicalism that Buoizzi had to confront. Anarchists such as Garino and Santini were very active, while at the Farina factory three members of the internal commission wrote to *Avanti!* announcing that they

represented the interests of the FIOM and non-unionized workers of their plant.⁴¹ Throughout the summer the radical socialists under Boero and Parodi grew closer to the anarchists. In August an attempted Fascio Sindacale d'Azione Diretta floundered due to inherent ideological and personal differences. However, in the autumn the Fascio Sindacale di Azione Rivoluzionaria had some limited success at alliance building.⁴²

Autumn and early winter month issues of FIOM's local newspaper, *La Squilla*, devoted substantial amounts of space to the activities of the 'rigids', Garino and other former members of the prewar Sindacato Unico. Indeed one reformist (Artesani) thought it odd that a socialist such as Boero, who supported socialist/CGL unity, should work so closely with former secessionists.⁴³ Another reformist identified the Libertarian Group as a danger to the cohesion of the local branch of FIOM. In the months preceding the Rome Congress, the vote for the Turin delegation took on the character of a referendum on the local reformist leadership.⁴⁴ The reformists won, but a minority slate of rigids and anarchists did get to attend the proceedings at Rome. *Guerra di Classe* noted with some satisfaction that this new radicalism might threaten their reformist competitors in Turin.⁴⁵ Torinese anarchists themselves were extremely happy with these fast-moving developments.⁴⁶ Even the individualist anarchist Cesare Sobrito noted in an article in *L'Avvenire Anarchico* that the internal commissions would be the focal point for postwar rebelliousness.⁴⁷

On 22 October 1918 the prefect reported the formation of a Study Committee for Proletarian Unity. It consisted of fifteen leading maximalist socialists (including Boero and Parodi). It demanded an eight-hour day, legalization of strikes, equal pay for equal work and non-collaboration with Industrial Mobilization (which was abolished in March 1919). These demands were to be accomplished through a strategy of direct action by the PSI, CGL, USI and SFI. Three days earlier an anonymous 'modellista' (probably Garino) had written an article in *La Squilla* endorsing this strategy, which had also been recently advanced by the SFI and the philo-syndicalist Florentine socialist, *La Difesa*, but denounced by Gramsci's comrade, Ottavio Pastore.⁴⁸

The radical opposition within FIOM became more visible at the Rome congress. Its manifesto had evolved from the suggestions of the Study Committee for Proletarian Unity and the activities of anarchists such as Garino. At a meeting of FIOM unionists, held on 8 August 1918, Garino had condemned Buozzi for not consulting the rank and file before he publicly endorsed collaboration with the Commissionissima. Buozzi lashed out claiming that 'the Unions and their secretaries, even when they seem to be not very militant or class-conscious, are always far more so than the

anonymous masses'.⁴⁹ By November the radicals had won the argument over this policy: the confederal unions would not join the post-war commission. However, the FIOM radicals also objected to the top-down methods of policy-making that Buozzi had so candidly defended during the row. Their manifesto declared:

We wish to state openly that the leaders should follow the tactics and paths laid down and desired by the masses; otherwise they should leave their posts in favour of men better able to interpret the needs and wishes of the masses.⁵⁰

The majority of the Torinese delegates at Rome opposed the radicals, but their opposition also betrayed their own uncertainties about future prospects. If the radicals were still very much a minority nationally and locally, nevertheless, 'at the Rome Congress the first signs of this opposition appeared'; and it is interesting that it crystallized round the issues of the functions and role of the metal-workers' Internal Commissions'.⁵¹

The Factory Council Movement up to May 1919

Between November 1918 and March 1919 the internal commissions became a national issue within the trade union movement. In November official recognition of the internal commissions was won at Milan, along with a 55-hour week, an unemployment fund and the right of the internal commissions to deal with disputes over the application of wage agreements, hygiene and other matters. In Turin negotiations were more prolonged and detailed regulations were drawn-up concerning the functioning of the internal commissions before the full agreement was signed. The Turin agreement, signed on 20 February 1919, granted an eight-hour day (48-hour week) with substantial pay rises. The internal commissions negotiated with management on collective grievances as well as incidents arising from the application or interpretation of the agreement. Members of the commissions were to hold office for a year and they were given a special office for their own use in the factory in which to fulfil their duties outside factory hours. The other significant aspect of the February agreement was the three-stage arbitration procedure unions had to exercise until they were allowed to strike. Unofficial strikes were ruled out, however political strikes were exempted from this ban. The agreement embodied the type of industrial democracy that Buozzi had pushed during the Rome congress; and winning the eight-hour day regained much of the prestige he had lost after the furore over the Commissionissima.⁵²

Nationally, the FIOM agreement aroused considerable protest among

the metal workers in Liguria and the Milanese. In Liguria protests and numerous strikes at Ansaldo and elsewhere occurred in early 1919. The *Sindacato Metallurgico* declared that the FIOM agreement meant an end of the class struggle. As Martin Clark notes, 'the sense of grievance there was enhanced by the fact that the syndicalists leaders had signed a local contract three weeks previously, giving them the 'English Saturday' and a 44-hour week, which they were now forced to renounce'.⁵³ Meeting at Bologna in June 1919, the *Sindacato Metallurgico* denounced the national agreement as little more than a penal code and decided to institute a general agitation throughout Italy for its abrogation.⁵⁴

Locally, the agreement aroused considerable protest among metal workers. Criticism in Turin was voiced by a certain Bouch and comrades whose letter to *Avanti!* (Turin) was published on 15 May 1919.⁵⁵ These and other examples reported from the shopfloor from February onwards bear striking similarities to anarchist and syndicalist criticisms of the prewar contracts at Itala in 1906 and Fiat in 1911. The conquest of the eight-hour day had been achieved by an acceptance of obligatory overtime. The five or 10 minutes lateness tolerated (the so-called *tolleranze*) at the start of work had been abolished and the immediate freedom to strike renounced. Furthermore, new piece-rates were seen by this opposition as inherently against working-class solidarity, leading to lower wages.⁵⁶ Although it is difficult to determine the extent to which the libertarians influenced this opposition noted by Giuseppe Maione and Martin Clark, it seems clear that they adopted the same positions as the prewar anarchists.

The strikes of the modelmakers (February–April 1919) and the technicians (April 1919) clearly had some anarchist participants. The first, less important, strike of modelmakers was led by anarchist militants such as Garino and paralleled many aspects of the more significant technicians' strike. In April employers locked out all their employees, forcing ordinary workers to cooperate with their immediate superiors. Reformists saw this new alliance of hand and brain as a step towards their vision of productivist industrial democracy.⁵⁷

The strike seemed to underpin a moderate type of industrial democracy. Nevertheless, the outcome of the strike was significantly more radical than the reformists had bargained. Individual internal commissions worked out increases in pay for each factory's technicians due to the tremendous variation in pay scales from one establishment to the next. The strike was eventually settled through a series of meetings between employers' and the technicians' internal commissions, with the workers' internal commissions acting as agencies of coordination for the striking technicians. The result was a significant increase in the prestige of the internal commissions.⁵⁸

By May Day 1919 the internal commissions were becoming the dominant force within the metalworking industry and the unions were in danger of becoming marginal administrative units. Behind these alarming developments, in the eyes of the reformists, lay the libertarians. Carlo Artesani, who had helped negotiate the February agreement, was concerned that his adversaries in the Fascio Sindacale (Garino, Ferrero, the maximalists) would soon sweep aside the reformist majority evident at Rome the previous November. Artesani warned that the Fascio might undermine the cohesion of FIOM locally and undermine all the achievements won since the Armistice.⁵⁹

The Origins of *L'Ordine Nuovo*

Between May and November 1919 the internal commissions of Turin were transformed into factory councils. The intellectuals associated with Gramsci were largely responsible for advancing a cogent case for these new institutions. As we have already seen, there were structural reasons why the internal commission began to encroach on the prerogatives of union and employer alike.⁶⁰ Here I would like to pick up the discussion left in Chapter Three concerning Gramsci's notions of prefiguration.

Gramsci's interpretation of the role of soviets in the Russian October Revolution was derived from the *Liberator*, and particularly John Reed's and Max Eastman's reportage from Soviet Russia. Other inspirations came from Aaron Wizner, a Russo-Polish technician employed at Fiat, who interestingly enough was a follower of Rosa Luxemburg. It was Wizner, Gramsci recalled in 1920, who had pointed to the internal council as the Italian equivalent of soviet-style self-government.⁶¹ Although Gramsci refers to a meeting held in early 1919, Wizner's influence can be traced back to 1917. The Pole's sovietist interpretation of the Italian internal commission reinforced Gramsci's similar appropriation of experiences from the British shop steward movement. Thus the missing link between his earlier search for prefigurative institutions in the Torinese cooperative movement in 1916 and 1917 and his 'discovery' of the internal commissions at the end of the war, is located in a series of reports on the state of British socialism published in the autumn of 1918.

Gramsci followed the evolution of the wartime British shop stewards movement through a series of articles in *The Times* entitled 'The Revolutionary Labour Movement' and 'The Ferment of Revolution', published respectively on 25 and 28 September 1917. On 27 April 1918 *Il Grido del Popolo* published a detailed account of the shop stewards movement, entitled 'Evoluzione delle Trade Unions inglesi' ('The Evolution of the

English Trade Unions'), in which their history from 1916 is rehearsed. The reader would have learnt how shop-floor delegates selected a factory committee, and how this in turn helped elect a local committee of a given industry.⁶² Later in August 1918 Gramsci returned to the British example.⁶³ Two 'British' articles were placed in the context of the PSI's maximalist programme and FIOM's Rome conference. After the congress of the PSI reaffirmed its intransigent politics, Gramsci sought to define what a maximalist platform might be. He addressed the problem of the future outlines of the socialist state, which had been a major theme of his wartime writings.

the socialist State, that is the organisation of the collectivity after the abolition of private property, is not a continuation of the bourgeois State, is not the evolution of the capitalist State constituted by three powers-executive, legislative and judiciary – but continues and is a systematic development of the professional organizations and local bodies that the proletariat already knew how to bring into being spontaneously in the individualist regime. Thus, the immediate action that the proletariat must carry out must absolutely not aim at the expansion of the powers of state interventionism, but must aim to decentralize the bourgeois State, to widen local and syndical autonomy outside regulatory law.⁶⁴

Writing one month later, Gramsci explained the ingenuous Pact of Alliance was due to lack of popular participation within either the party or the trade union. Gramsci felt that the major institutions of the labour movement in fact represented a small proportion of workers. This had led to irresponsible and undemocratic leadership, on the one hand, and apathy from the rank and file, on the other.⁶⁵ Gramsci realized that the apathy of the socialist and trade union rank-and-file had created the notoriously unstable leadership of the PSI. His search for prefigurative institutions was therefore a quest for a solution to this long-standing malaise within Italian socialism, reinforced by the more pressing need to channel the mass of recently recruited metal workers towards political participation.⁶⁶

In December 1918 his interest in Italian problems was joined to the British case in a revealing article. If the Italian press was at pains to emphasize the moderate parliamentary aspects of the current British electoral campaign, Gramsci chose to underline the demand by British trade unionists that their representatives be allowed to participate at the forthcoming peace conference. Gramsci duly noted the reaction to this demand.

Demagoguery, bolshevism-protest all the indignant faithful priests of the parliamentary State and of universal suffrage; the workers are English citizens

like everyone else, they are able to elect as many representatives to the House of Commons as they wish, they are able to become the ruling class of the State; to concede to them autonomous representation at the Peace Conference would signify the recognition . . . , that the liberal State, that parliamentarianism, with its administrative organs and officials, is insufficient to satisfy the needs of legitimate interests.⁶⁷

It is at this juncture that Gramsci for the first time in print introduces the conception of a New Order, even if previously he published a censored version of Eastman's interview with Lenin, entitled a 'Statesman of the New Order'.

In British political life it is unheard of, without precedents. The proletariat leaves the orbit of individualist liberalism, overturns every tradition, accepts a principle that developed dialectically and practically leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to execrable Leninism, to the red tyranny of the workers' and peasants' Soviets.

. . . Executive power, emanation of Parliament, is not recognized by the proletariat as also the depository of its interests and aspirations. The executive power of the proletariat is in its class organizations; and these have the capacity to represent its interests and aspirations at the Peace Conference, in this resides the constitutional dialectic of the New Order which the English proletariat wishes to establish in order to be part of the world International, founded on the socialization of the means of production and exchange.⁶⁸

And this 'constitutional dialectic of the New Order' lay precisely in:

the social democratic tactic so happily applied in Russia by the bolsheviks; the proletarians themselves must be convinced of the truth that only class organizations represent their interests and aspirations, they must work so that the executive power of the nation passes from parliamentary government to these organizations, to the workers councils.⁶⁹

These British articles demonstrate that by late 1918 Gramsci had a fairly clear idea where to find examples of prefigurative institutions, even if the internal commissions are hardly ever mentioned in Gramsci's wartime journalism,⁷⁰ but if Gramsci was much more attuned to the local labour movement than he is credited, to what extent did Gramsci liaise with or influence the campaign of the Fascio Rivoluzionario against the moderates in FIOM? Much of Gramsci's direct influence upon the factory radicals in 1918 remains supposition. However, the following hypotheses, I believe, are not unduly speculative.

First, it has been suggested that the anarchists themselves advanced the suggestion to transform the internal commissions into factory council as early as October 1918.⁷¹ But in December 1919, the anarchist De Bartolomeis, wrote that the idea of the factory council was culled from British and Russian examples as filtered through *L'Ordine Nuovo*.⁷² A local reformist, Mario Guarnieri, writing one month earlier, claimed that during the debate between reformists and radicals leading up to the Rome congress of the previous autumn, several socialist intellectuals (Gramsci and friends) helped the opposition to reformists in the local section of FIOM before the congress, on the basis of greater organizational democracy, opposition to collaboration with the state and proletarian unity.⁷³ The historian Emilio Soave argued that Guarnieri was misrepresenting the facts so as to support his debate with the *ordinovisti* in 1919.⁷⁴ However, the already cited 'British' articles would seem to dovetail nicely with Guarnieri's claims as these articles were contemporaneous with the congressional debate. Moreover, the leading radical ginger group, the Study Committee for Proletarian Unity, sounds quite similar to later groups associated with the *ordinovisti*. On balance, however, I would suggest that its approach was too close to the top-down CGL/USI alliances that Gramsci had opposed in 1916 and 1917. In sum, whatever Gramsci was doing in 1918 and early 1919, it seems clear in any case that his conception of an industrially based socialism developed over a longer period than is usually believed.⁷⁵

L'Ordine Nuovo was launched just as individual maximalist socialists in Turin sought to form a united front with the libertarians. I will now review the course of these negotiations up to the November elections.

United Fronts

The Fascio Sindacale d'Azione Rivoluzionaria was the most serious attempt at a united front in 1919. It certainly frightened FIOM's reformists and they, as we have seen, linked it to attempts to conquer the internal commissions and threaten the very integrity of the union itself.⁷⁶ In March the Fascio issued a leaflet in which it explained its aim was to create more democratic organizations that are separated from any concept of authoritarianism. Numbers were not enough, the situation required active participation by the membership freely to choose actions that were not merely about higher wages and shorter hours but a fundamental change in the social system.⁷⁷

Besides being involved the politics of the local trade unions, the Fascio was also the birthplace of the Torinese Red Guards, which as in other

Italian localities during the *biennio rosso*, achieved the unity of many (young) libertarians and socialists. At the March meeting of the Fascio the anarchists were represented by Lelli and Correggio. Boero proposed that the stewards at the May Day march become the nucleus of Turin's Red Guards. Boero, the prefect wrote, explained that they be named after the German Spartacus group.⁷⁸

The main purpose of the Red Guards was to protect demonstrators from attacks by students and *arditi*. The reported numbers of Red Guards varied enormously from 1,500 socialists and 300 anarchists, busily engaged in plans to blow-up bridges and cut telegraph wires, to the more accurate 300 that Sylvia Pankhurst reported to her readers in the *Workers' Dreadnought*, when she visited Turin and the 'Red Republic of San Paolo' in late 1919. Indeed by August 1919, after months of hysterical reports, the prefect admitted that the Red Guards were far from an immediate threat. Pankhurst reported a lightly armed organization of youths. Nevertheless, the Red Guards did appear on the streets during the general strikes of 3/4 December 1919 and 21 July 1920 and they were more visible during the occupation of the factories that September.⁷⁹

Unlike the Fascio Sindacale, other attempts at united fronts were failures. After the burning of *Avanti!* offices in Milan in April 1919 by *arditi*, local anarchists and the PSI opened up negotiations. However, within a month the discussions were stalemated. Margarita was the most impatient, and at a well-attended meeting of the anarchists held at the Chamber of Labour on 22 May 1919, he announced the formation of a Fascio D'Azione Rivoluzionaria.⁸⁰ Although he induced the familiar chaos, cooler heads were equally frustrated. Boero had been sympathetic but since March unable to win the PSI branch in favour of a formal alliance.⁸¹ Other attempts at fusing the anarchist and syndicalist youth with the FGS met with the same failure as in 1916.⁸²

By the summer of 1919 many anarchists had become alienated from the PSI by its dithering tactics. The socialists' lukewarm support for the cost-of-living riots in June, and their inability to coordinate the international strike in July, left them further dissatisfied. At a packed meeting (1500 present) held in the Chamber of Labour in June, Garino attempted to explain to local maximalists why they should ally with the anarchists. His anger, however, was directed at the more moderate socialist leaders, Pagella and Uberti, whom he claimed had led a campaign against the anarchists. This met with objections from the socialists in the audience. Order was briefly restored when the anarchist regional organizer of FIOM, Mario Mombello, urged the audience to remain calm and tolerant. However, Margarita then intervened and soon after the police stopped the

proceedings.⁸³ The June meeting poisoned the atmosphere. The socialists' inaction in June and July did not help lessen mistrust. Finally, the anarchists were thoroughly alienated by socialist electioneering in the autumn.

However, on the neighbourhood or personal level alliances persisted. The most important link was between abstentionist socialists and anarchists. Throughout 1919 the two groups met, even if the socialist executive disbanded the Spartacists and other anarchist/socialist youth groups.⁸⁴ Boero, the most important personal link, was forced to repudiate statements when he had claimed a linkage between anarchism and abstentionist socialism.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, just before the November election the prefect reported individual abstentionists and socialists working in an anarchist-organized anti-electoral campaign.⁸⁶ Informal alliances with some anarchists were also eased due to the initial open-minded attitude of key individuals in the Fascio Libertario towards the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A clandestine anarchist pamphlet, entitled *Bolscevismo* written by a sailor who had been in Kronstadt in 1917, also seemed relatively positive towards the Leninists.⁸⁷ However, veterans were mistrustful, and by November Acutis saw fit to issue a leaflet in order to draw boundaries between the anarchists and socialists in which he warned anarchists that socialist politicians were not preparing the way for a dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship their own party.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the younger anarchists were less sectarian in 1919. Indeed, the prefect, in reporting parallels between anarchist activity in 1917 and 1919, noticed this shift in generations from Anselmo Acutis to Maurizio Garino.⁸⁹

L'Ordine Nuovo: Overview

L'Ordine Nuovo began publication in May 1919. It embodied a project which Gramsci and his friends had been planning since 1914; proposals for such a newspaper were openly advanced by Gramsci in 1917 and 1918, and were rejected by Torinese socialist and labour leaders. The contents, style and preoccupations of *Il Grido del Popolo* (1917–18) foreshadowed a great deal of what *L'Ordine Nuovo* came to represent. The project reached fruition in 1919 due to funds raised by Angelo Tasca within the mainstream labour movement. It is therefore ironic that the very sector of the local left which would come under the fiercest criticism by the *ordino-visti* would through Tasca's connections give their journal its original sustenance. However, even if Gramsci was viewed in the socialist establishment as a prickly iconoclastic intellectual, this is not to say that he was universally despised. Buozzi's report to the FIOM Rome congress of November 1918 mentions Gramsci anonymously as a young brilliant

socialist writer, albeit one whose estimations of the Bolsheviks were perhaps overly enthusiastic for his tastes.⁹⁰

The *ordinovisti* inner circle of Gramsci, Tasca, Terracini and Togliati had been formed in 1915 at university. Other university professors and Gramsci's earlier circle of lower middle class 'Moral lifers' wrote and helped disseminate the journal. Finally, Gramsci's sojourn at *Il Grido del Popolo*, and his speaking engagements in the suburbs during the war, expanded his base beyond various middle-class acquaintances.⁹¹

Gramsci used the wartime speaking network to increase the visibility of his new journal and to promote the idea of the factory council.⁹² Outside of Turin the influence of the journal was patchy, with some discrete support by the small circles of skilled workers in central Italy.⁹³ Naturally, those intellectuals who had enjoyed Gramsci's writing in *Il Grido del Popolo*, were also attracted to *L'Ordine Nuovo*. Gabriele D'Annunzio was a subscriber. Other readers included Sorel's friend and editor of *Il Resto del Carlino*, Mario Missiroli, together with Jacques Mesnil, Henri Barbusse, Luigi Einaudi and Torinese professors. Although the newspaper never exceeded a circulation of 6,000, it nevertheless attained enormous influence locally.⁹⁴

Anarchist Responses to L'Ordine Nuovo

Leading Italian anarchists adopted a cautious but largely favourable position towards Gramsci's review. In late 1920 Luigi Fabbri gave *L'Ordine Nuovo* much of the credit for the spreading the idea of the factory council throughout Italy. *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 'a review of socialist culture', was, Fabbri wrote, translated into Italian 'Russian ideas', but its editors had the defect of employing dogmatic pseudo-Marxist aphorisms even if this 'flaw is compensated by . . . intellectual honesty'.⁹⁵ Even the suspicious Armando Borghi described *L'Ordine Nuovo* as 'a beautiful review, produced by very intelligent youngsters'.⁹⁶ Camillo Berneri, a young university graduate and a student of Salvemini who had been formed intellectually by Croce and Sorel – in some respects Gramsci's anarchist spiritual cousin – objected to Gramsci's productivism, but his own 'sovietism' in 1917, was almost identical to that of Gramsci's. Obviously differences emerged as the full dimensions of the Bolshevik regime became apparent, nevertheless when Gramsci turned on Berneri or Fabbri, they seemed genuinely upset, as if betrayed by a kindred spirit.⁹⁷

L'Ordine Nuovo's most enthusiastic anarchist supporters were, quite naturally, the Torinese anarchists themselves. The very language and substance of what the Torinese anarchists said about the factory councils

derived from Gramsci. De Bartolomeis wrote, for example, in *Volontà* in November 1919 that *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 'represents according to us, the most honest and concrete attempt in Italy of the renewal of ideas and practice by the . . . socialist movement'. As Emma Ferrero recalls, the vast majority of Torinese anarchists supported the positions of the *ordinovisti* in the factory council movement until the 'clock-hands strike'.⁹⁸ Nevertheless in 1919 and 1920 the *ordinovisti* engaged in a spirited debate with the anarchists and syndicalists within the journal itself and the Piedmontese edition of *Avanti!*. Many of the attacks by the *ordinovisti* upon anarchism and syndicalism were not particularly unique. Perennial controversies between socialists and libertarians were aired: the advantages and disadvantages of electoral participation, 'scientific' versus 'utopian' socialism and the nature of socialist organization and revolutionary organization more sharply focused due to the success of the Bolsheviks compared to the abortive revolutions in the West. Although Garino and Ferrero kept most of their contributions to *Umanità Nuova*, Corrado Qualglinio entered in a debate with Gramsci, Tasca and Togliatti, whilst Pietro Mosso ('Carlo Petri') published eleven articles and book reviews in the journal from June 1919 to April 1920. The problems of anarchism and syndicalism, however, became something of an obsession for the editors of *L'Ordine Nuovo*. They inspired one article by Viglongo, two by Leonetti, four by Tasca, six by Togliatti and no less than 13 by Gramsci. Two periods of intense polemics are discerned. From May to September 1919 the debate centred on the ideological similarities and differences between Marxism and libertarian socialism; while from February until April 1920 the debate shifted to more practical matters (albeit Gramsci kept ideology foremost in his mind): the role of the anarchists in the Russian Revolution (with rather sympathetic and informative accounts of Nestor Makhno and the peasant anarchists of the Ukraine), the validity of the USI's tactics in Liguria and the ground rules on which anarchists and socialists could collaborate. By March and early April the themes of anarchism had overwhelmed the editors of *L'Ordine Nuovo*, when in fact they dominate copy. In the summer and autumn of 1920, when *L'Ordine Nuovo* lost much of its originality, and became a vehicle for Bolshevik pronouncements, this debate largely petered out.

Anarchism and *Ordinovisto* Action within the Factory Council Movement from the summer of 1919 to early 1920

A newspaper article by Alfonso Leonetti in the Socialist Youth's *L'Avanguardia* (9 March 1919) initiated the 1919 campaign to transform the

Table 4.1 Anarchism and Syndicalism in *L'Ordine Nuovo*

1. 'Fanatismo' (Angelo Tasca), 'Le origini del primo maggio', 15 May 1919; 31 May 1919.
2. 'Carlo Petri' (Pietro Mosso), 'Borghesia e produzione in regime comunista', 7 June 1919.
3. 'Carlo Petri', Emile Vandervelde, 'Le socialisme contre l'état', 21 June 1919.
4. 'For Ever' (Corrado Quaglino), 'In difesa dell'anarchia'; Antonio Gramsci, 'Lo stato e il socialismo', 28 June–5 July 1919.
5. Antonio Gramsci, 'La conquista dello Stato', 12 July 1919.
6. 'Carlo Petri', 'Comunismo anarchico', 26 July 1919.
7. P.T. (Palmiro Togliatti), 'La battaglia delle idee. Per chiudere una polemica', 2 August 1919.
8. 'Carlo Petri', 'Suggelli ad una polemica sullo stato e sull'anarchia', 30 August 1919.
9. Antonio Gramsci, 'Socialisti e anarchici', 20–27 September 1919.
10. Antonio Gramsci, 'Socialisti e consigli', 11 October 1919.
11. 'Carlo Petri', 'Il sistema Taylor e i consigli dei produttori. Cenni di logica dei sistemi socialisti e anarchici'; Mario Montagnana, 'I problemi dell'organizzazione', 25 October 1919.
12. 'Carlo Petri', 'Il sistema Taylor e i consigli dei produttori. Il sistema Taylor e l'organizzazione scientifica del lavoro', 1 November 1919.
13. Antonio Gramsci, 'Sindacalismo e consigli'; 'Carlo Petri', 'Il sistema Taylor e i consigli dei produttori. Esame di alcuni concetti del taylorismo', 8 November 1919.
14. Mario Montagnana, 'Il rovescio della medaglia: discussioni sui Consigli di fabbrica'; 'Carlo Petri', 'Il sistema Taylor e consigli dei produttori. L'organizzazione dei Consigli'; c.p. ('Carlo Petri'), Raoul Labry, 'L'industrie russe e la révolution', 15 November 1919.
15. 'Carlo Petri', 'Il sistema Taylor e i consigli dei produttori. La scuola', 22 November 1919.
16. A.T. (Angelo Tasca), 'Socialismo e anarchia', 29 November 1919.
17. 'Fatti e documenti'—'Dopo la vittoria socialista. La fase attuale del problema ucraino', 6–13 December 1919.
18. P.T. (Palmiro Togliatti), Mario Gioda, 'I consigli di Torino'; Armando Borghi, 'I consigli di fabbrica e noi'; Aliprando Giovanetti 'Movimenti operai industriali e agricoli'; Italo Garinei, 'Ancora dei C.d.f.', 20 December 1919.
19. Antonio Gramsci, 'Unità proletaria', 28 February–6 March 1920.
20. Palmiro Togliatti, 'Tattica nuova'; Alfonso Leonetti, 'Lettere da Milano'; Palmiro Togliatti and Andrea Viglono, 'Rapporto sui fatti di Sestri', 13 March 1920.
21. Palmiro Togliatti, 'Per il congresso dei consigli di fabbrica: agli operai e contadini di tutta Italia', 27 March 1920.
22. Antonio Gramsci, 'Discorso agli anarchici'; Antonio Gramsci, 'Cronache dell'Ordine Nuovo'; 'Carlo Petri', 'Comunismo anarchico e comunismo critico'; D.R. (Daniel Reidel), 'Note sul movimento anarchico in Russia'; N. Bukharin, 'La rivoluzione russa e la dittatura militare proletaria', 3–10 April 1920.
23. Antonio Gramsci, 'La relazione Tasca ed il congresso camerale di Torino', 5 June 1920.
24. Antonio Gramsci, 'Sindacati e consigli'; Angelo Tasca, 'Polemica sul programma dell'Ordine Nuovo', 12 June 1920.
25. Angelo Tasca, 'Polemiche sul programma dell'Ordine Nuovo', 19 June 1920.
26. Antonio Gramsci, 'Due rivoluzioni'; Angelo Tasca, 'Polemica sul programma

Table 4.1 *Continued*

-
- dell'“Ordine Nuovo”, 3 July 1920.
27. Palmiro Togliatti, ‘Stato e libertà’, 10 July 1920.
28. Alfonso Leonetti, ‘Lettere da Milano’, 31 July 1920.
29. Antonio Gramsci, ‘Il programma dell’“Ordine Nuovo”’; Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, ‘La capacità politica della classe operaia’, 14 August 1920.
30. Palmiro Togliatti, ‘Assicurazione operaia’; Antonio Gramsci, ‘Partito e sindacato’, 21 August 1920.
31. Antonio Gramsci, ‘Il programma dell’“Ordine Nuovo”’, 28 August 1920.
-

internal commissions into factory councils. Leonetti's proposals were motivated by the need to incorporate all workers in permanent and representative institutions and the desire to re-examine the prickly problem of the non-unionized within the working class. His proposal was to build Italian soviets from the industrial organizations existing in Italian factories.⁹⁹ However, in its first few months *L'Ordine Nuovo* was dominated by Tasca rather than Togliatti and Gramsci. A shift from Tasca's more respectful attitude towards the local trade union and socialist establishment and an accompanying propagation of councilist ideas, only occurred in late June when Gramsci and Togliatti carried out their so-called editorial coup d'état.¹⁰⁰

The seminal article, ‘Workers’ Democracy’, was preceded by several harbingers. Gramsci's article ‘Maggioranza e minoranza nell'azione socialista’ (‘Majority and minority in socialist action’)¹⁰¹ reinforced Leonetti's earlier position. Although the factory councils are not given absolute predominance in this article, it implied that the legitimacy of the Bolshevik revolution was guaranteed by industrially based political organizations. On 24 May, Gramsci published a brief note on the Dutch communist movement, which reiterated councilist themes.¹⁰² In June ‘Workers’ Democracy’ argued that workers should elect factory delegates on the basis of the slogan ‘All Power to the Workshop Committees’, with the more general aim being ‘All Power in the State to Workers’ and Peasants’ Councils. While Clark believes that this article still emphasized the role of the geographical ward committees rather than the shopfloor organizations, it seems that a set speech delivered to various suburban clubs (in fact a précis of this article) does emphasize industrial organization.¹⁰³

The effects of Gramsci's article and his speeches was noticed at a meeting of the Chamber of Labour, held from 15 to 17 June. One of the principal questions addressed was on what criteria the future general council of the Chamber be constituted. Enea Matta, a close associate of

Gramsci's, advanced the proposal that delegates from the internal commissions should nominate members to the general council, since they were the direct representatives of the workers.¹⁰⁴ Although Matta's proposal was ignored, it reflected the ferment of ideas within the factories.

In late June and early July Gramsci began to outline his ideas more fully at a series of meetings of the Turin branch of the PSI. The first significant step in the spread of the councils occurred when the internal commission at Fiat-Centro resigned and was replaced by a temporary commission with a mandate to organize the election. This new internal commission was not very different from its predecessor. It was at the Brevetti Fiat works, after Gramsci had intervened at a mass meeting on 31 August, that elections for commissars were held in each work unit. The overwhelming majority of the 2,000 workers voted, but only members of FIOM were eligible to be elected. Throughout September and October the system was adopted throughout the city, so that by the beginning of November nearly all the main factories in Turin had workshop commissars and internal commissions.

On 20 October a fresh meeting of the internal commissions established, at *L'Ordine Nuovo's* suggestion, a provisional 'Committee of Study'. Its membership included Boero and Matta (as well as Cerri, Bordigari, Montano, Tosi and Brunero), and Gramsci's influence was undoubtedly important. The provisional Committee of Study drafted a programme written by Gramsci entitled, the 'Programme of the Workshop Commissars'. Its central point was that members of the union who are in the factory councils accept the orders of the unions in economic disputes, which of course echoed the Pact of Alliance. However, there was a sting in its tail: this acceptance of union discipline was only legitimate when its policy was formulated by the factory commissars themselves. In short, the commissars would elect the executive committee of the union's local branch. The autonomy of the union executive was further circumscribed since the commissars had to agree to any wage settlements before they became valid.¹⁰⁵ At a meeting on 31 October the programme was approved unanimously by the commissars. The meeting also put forward a slate of eleven names to contest for the election of the new FIOM executive.

Clark claims the agitation in Turin was largely one of opposition to local trade union reformists, and to this extent the Committee of Study diverged from Gramsci's more subtle analyses of the relationship between factory councils and unions.¹⁰⁶ While it is quite true that *L'Ordine Nuovo* printed repeated warnings that the two institutions should be kept separate, nevertheless it is hard to see Gramsci defending the political positions of the FIOM reformists. On the other hand, the autonomous decision of

the Provisional Committee which contradicts Gramsci's position, points to the possible influences of the Fascio Sindacale and/or the Committee of Proletarian Unity. It is also, perhaps, indirect evidence of anarchist influence.

The next stage in the spread of the council movement occurred rapidly. At a stormy meeting of Fiom's Turin branch the radical motion of Boero and Garino was carried by a large majority and a provisional executive committee was elected, with Pietro Ferrero selected as the new secretary of the branch.¹⁰⁷

The Torinese debate was repeated on a national scale when on 9 and 10 November, a mostly radical delegation of Torinese metalworkers (Garino, Boero, Sanmartino and Cerri for the radicals; Carmagnola representing the reformists) attended a Fiom congress held in Florence. The motion passed at this gathering was the first official expression of Fiom disapproval of the Torinese movement.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, in Turin the movement spread beyond the metal workers to coachbuilders and automobile bodyworkers as well as the Turin branch of the Chemical and Tyre Workers' Union. Even technicians in the metalworking factories endorsed the new movement.¹⁰⁹

The culmination of the initial successful phase in the history of the factory council movement occurred at a debate on factory councils at the congress of the Torinese Chamber of Labour on 14 and 15 December. Terracini defended the movement against the overt hostility of Bianchi of the CGL. However, partisans of the movement laid special emphasis on different points. Terracini stated that the councils would have to become more like the unions 'in order to prevent them dying of inactivity'. Gramsci emphasized the political dimension of the councils' work. They 'should be understood primarily as the bases of political power... thus removing any political reality from the present formal structure of parliamentary democracy'. However, he was forced to admit that, before the revolution, the factory councils were in certain respects appendages of the trade unions.¹¹⁰

The victorious motion was more to Gramsci's tastes since it did not link the commissars with the unions. However, by this time the factory council movement was branded as anti-union by the reformist leadership of Fiom and the CGL, as well as the maximalist directorate of the PSI.¹¹¹ On 11 December the Torinese branch of the PSI endorsed the council movement and established a new Committee of Study on the Factory Councils to replace the provisional committee. This was openly dominated by *ordinovisti* (but not by Gramsci) even if reformist influence was not completely absent. (The members were: Togliatti, Tasca, Boero, Matta,

Montagnana, Valante, Racca, Aprà, Zangheri, Sanmartino, Chignoli, Gino Guarnieri, Garnerone, Bertolini and Luigi Borghi.) Its tasks were to 'define and regulate the relationships that should exist between the Trade Unions and Factory Councils, in order to avoid conflicts of competence and prevent the existing organisations from being weakened, and to ensure that they acquire greater prestige in the eyes of the masses'.¹¹² By the end of 1919 Gramsci's position within the factory council movement was becoming untenable. On the one hand his closest comrades wanted to defend the unions, while on the other, syndicalists elsewhere in Italy thought the factory council an excellent vehicle to undermine FIOM's legitimacy. To this extent Gramsci remained reliant upon those factory council anarchists who, if not supporting his political philosophy, did endorse his industrial strategy.

Anarchists intervened at the most strategically important junctures of the first phase of the factory council movement. The importance of Ferrero's or Garino's roles to the early assemblies of the workshop commissars, in the study committees, at the FIOM congresses in November and the special congress of Turin's Chamber of Labour in December were not related to any large, captive anarchist vote. The fact is they represented a certain contemporary, if transient, sentiment located on the shop floor. At times this sentiment came nearest to Gramsci's position in regard to granting votes to the non-unionized for the elections of workshop commissars or establishing a new relationship between the factory councils and the unions. Nono De Bartolomeis explained in an article for *Volontà* (6 November 1919) where these affinities lay.

The anarchist workers and technicians had worked with the *ordinovisti* throughout the summer and autumn because both sides agreed that older internal commissions were no longer representative of the workers. The great assemblies in which their representatives had been elected were manipulated in the election of hand-picked candidates. The older internal commissions (sounding very much like Gramsci) were top-down organizations, 'too distant from the active psychology of the workers'. As he recalled, through the activities of Gramsci and Garino, the workers of Brevetti-Fiat, and in less than a month afterwards, those of fifteen other metalworking factories, had elected workshop delegates. His article expressed the optimism and surprise that the radicals felt as the factory council movement progressed.

As a propagandist of the factory council movement within the national anarchist press, De Bartolomeis was important. However, if Ferrero and Garino were less confident as journalists, their positions as factory organizers in Turin were essential for Gramsci. The question of whether

or not the non-unionized should be granted a voice in the elections of workshop commissars became a major bone of contention in November and December, and it was the anarchists who supported Gramsci's position the most enthusiastically.

However, the controversy was in fact sparked-off by a dispute amongst the socialists themselves. On 16 August Ottavio Pastore first proposed that all workers should be eligible to elect workshop commissars. On 30 August Viglono endorsed this position, stressing that it would reinforce moves towards industrial unionism. However, Gramsci at this point was still sensitive to the concerns of union activists. He warned Viglono in a postscript to a newspaper article that the problem of the non-unionized remained sensitive.¹¹³ Although Pastore and Viglono may have been the first two socialists to raise this issue in print, Garino claimed that he was the first to propose votes for the non-unionized at meetings. Even Terracini admitted at the special congress of the Torinese Chamber of Labour that it had been workers rather than socialist journalists who had originally advanced the idea.¹¹⁴ Garino, too, was as careful as Gramsci in spelling out the implications of widening the suffrage. At the Florence Fiom congress of November, for instance, Garino and Boero both underlined the fact that the factory councils '(are) limited to centres that dispose of the best organised elements and specify their roles in a way that avoids creating simple illusions in the masses that would end up with causing harm' to working-class organisations.¹¹⁵ Garino's and Boero's caution reflected similar worries found in radical workers. Obviously Guarnieri or Colombino might denounce their programme for undermining the union or even handing it over to the USI, but their own fiercest opponents within Fiom were not as enthusiastic as the outsider Viglono at granting the vote to the non-unionized. Mario Montagnana wrote to *L'Ordine Nuovo* in November 1919 expressing his fears. He wanted the *ordinovisti* to address the problem in precise terms, otherwise 'unruly individuals' would seize the factory councils for their own disruptive purposes. He supported the present insurgent movement because he was against the current reformist executive committee of Fiom who had been an obstacle in the way of the progress of the factory council movement; 'unruly individuals' wanted to overturn *any* executive committee.

There are individuals, within the ranks of the subversives who for years and years fight a continuous, tenacious struggle against 'the leaders' of our organizations. What the precise aim is of their criticisms and their attacks is not very easily to understand: we, for example, have never understood it! They are the eternal malcontents, they always go a little further . . . to the extreme

left, according to occasion they can call themselves syndicalists, anarchists or even dissident syndicalists. In reality they are neither syndicalists, nor anarchists! They are simply (even if in good faith) dangerous muddleheads.¹¹⁶

A closer examination of even Garino's position demonstrates similar ambiguities. He, too, had little time for the refractories, and at the Florence congress he agreed that candidates for workshop commissar should be limited to the unionized who supported the class struggle and a communist programme. However, at the UAI congress held in Bologna the following July, he presented a diametrically opposite position. Banning the non-unionized from office would, he argued then, merely mean that the councils would become creatures of the unions. In line with Gramsci's theories, the unions and councils were two different animals: the councils served producers, unions wage earners.¹¹⁷ This reflected his earlier defence of this principle at the crucial meeting of Turin's Chamber of Labour the previous December, 'when', Gramsci recalled, 'the anarcho-syndicalist Garino defended this thesis . . . , and defended it with great dialectical skill and warmth'.¹¹⁸ For practically minded trade unionists the differences between producer and wage earner were sometimes obscure. Garino, for instance, cited the examples Gramsci had obviously lectured him about: the shop stewards on the Clyde, the America Wobblies and the De Leonites. However, other Italian trade unionists with international experience were not so impressed by these arguments. One Scaroni, for example, at the Florence FIOM congress, claimed there was no direct parallel between the organization of highly skilled workers in Britain and the position of the less skilled metal workers of the Italian labour market.¹¹⁹ Guarnieri was the first to admit that large numbers of non-unionized Italian workers could never be ignored during strikes, but he did not see how this could be allowed to affect internal union elections.¹²⁰ And as we have seen, Garino's position was not that dissimilar. During the very same congress of the Chamber of Labour where he advanced the theory of producers and wage earners, he also defended the new institutions that supposedly transcended the labour market as means to increase the prestige of the unions. 'The unorganized workers', Garino explained, 'must disappear. We are convinced that this would come about more easily with organization in the Councils, than by coercive methods'.¹²¹ The following month, notwithstanding arguments advanced in the summer at the UAI congress in Bologna, he supported a motion that laid down a one-year minimum union membership in order to qualify for election as a commissar.¹²²

The contradictory attitudes displayed by Garino may have been more of a help than a hindrance when he addressed his fellow workers. It was

precisely this pragmatism that won Garino's and Ferrero's support. Purity of principles would have meant sterile isolation. As the old internal commissions were transformed into factory councils in the autumn of 1919, anarchists would be chosen as workshop commissars in disproportionate numbers.¹²³

According to Garino, FIOM's local membership during the *biennio rosso* may have contained 100 anarchists. If this seems insignificant, it has to be recalled that many of them were long-time union activists. Garino identified a noticeable anarchist presence at Accarierie Fiat, Grandi Motori, Ferriere Piemontese and small shops in the suburbs. The Fiat-owned foundry, Ferriere Piemontese, seemed to be something of a stronghold. Fifty of its 2,000 workers were anarchists, the secretary of its internal commission was the anarchist Candela. In his late twenties, he was a typical self-educated anarchist, 'with an education that was superior by a long shot to that of the average of other workers, because he was really an activist formed, above all, in the Modern School and in also in the factory'. Similar types such as Fantoni, Bandero and Roncagliero, were found at Grandi Motori and elsewhere.¹²⁴

For activists such as Garino the emergence of the workshop commissars created 'a very wide elite that was an intermediary between us and the generality of workers'.¹²⁵ Much of this elite had had its first political experiences in the prewar Sindacato Unico, but these former secessionists were able to win over lifelong FIOM supporters. On the new executive of the local branch of FIOM, three of its nine members were anarchists. Garino had been approached to be the secretary, but he refused to become a salaried official, a functionary living off the working-class movement. It was decided that only the incorruptible, ironically named for an anarchist, 'Robespierre', Pietro Ferrero, could replace Uberti.¹²⁶

This radical executive remained in control of the local branch of FIOM until the April strike discredited their policies. The unity of the factory council movement was impeded by the very rapidity of its success. It would have had to achieve a qualitative breakthrough in early 1920 so as not to be thrown on the defensive. According to Clark, however, by January 1920 the movement had lost its original impetus.¹²⁷ What did Gramsci or other *ordinovisti* imagine the councils doing before a social revolution changed the rules of the game? The tasks of the workshop commissars would be those previously done by the internal commissions (matters such as handling grievances on applications of wage agreements, and hygiene). They were supposed to maintain discipline on the workshop floor and study the technical methods used in their plant. Equally, they were to carry out industrial and financial audits to make sure that the plant was not

inefficient or being sabotaged by owners for short-term profit. Psychologically, the factory councils would create the *de jure* unity of the working class, which would transcend party labels. By early 1920 it was becoming increasingly difficult to assign the councils specific tasks to carry out. Garino seemed to admit these problems when he reported to this fellow anarchists at the UAI congress in Bologna. The councilist movement had produced meagre results and where change had occurred the councils were used to enforce contractual agreements, but 'unhappily, this role which the councils accepted reluctantly, made them appear as nothing other than a continuation of the old internal commissions'.¹²⁸

If one of the leading anarchist activists within the Torinese factory council movement saw the limitations of the entire enterprise, a survey of the anarchist press in 1920 by Carlo Doglio demonstrates that anarchists outside Turin had only the vaguest ideas of how to translate theory into practice. Rather the council movement was used to score points against maximalist socialist rivals or to enliven insurrectionary rhetoric.¹²⁹

For all intents and purposes the leaders of the factory council movement had only excelled at organizing demonstrations. A demonstration in October 1919 against D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume in September was followed by widespread agitation in mid-November concerning a fine imposed by employers on workers after they had struck on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. This was followed by a two-day general strike after the events in Rome on 2 December when socialist deputies were assaulted by army officers. According to Clark, 'all these "public" agitations were, of course, depressingly traditional in kind, and far removed from Gramsci's aims'.¹³⁰

The other task of the commissars, to discipline workers and prevent anti-productive strikes, was not very successful. Between October 1919 and 20 May 1920 800 disputes (mainly on piece-rates and discipline) were reported at the Fiat works.¹³¹ This did not mean that the radicals did not seek to apply discipline. Ferrero and Garino were forced to replace Uberti and Colombino as disciplinarians. In November 1919 Garino told Fiat workers that their actions were threatening the very existence of the workshop commissars,¹³² and at an assembly of commissars on 27 November, Ferrero too, referred to the indiscipline of the workers at Fiat-Centro.¹³³ Indeed, it is the burden of Giuseppe Maione's argument that these anarchists became the greatest enemies of the 'class-conscious' rank and file. Although Maione wrote his history thinking very much about the Hot Autumn of 1969, curiously enough, his arguments are somewhat anticipated by the anti-organizationalist anarchist, Illario Margarita!¹³⁴

Margarita accused both Garino and Ferrero of dampening down the November disputes. Moreover, writing in *L'Avvenire Anarchico* about the

important meeting of the workshop commissars, held 31 October 1919, he denounced the entire exercise as being authoritarian, parliamentary and essentially reformist, as the council movement was based on the idea of majority rule. The movement seduced militants into accepting public power in the bourgeois state and turned them into politicians at the mercy of the reformists who still controlled both the Chamber of Labour and FIOM.¹³⁵

From Margarita's vantage point the movement was bound to disappoint, but the interesting point to ponder is to what extent Maione's 'class conscious rank and file' were merely individualist 'refractories'. Incidents had become so widespread that *Avanti!* addressed an article to the small groups of workers who had violently protested against the settlement of the November strikes. 'Workers' action', it begins, 'is not a sport. Unhappily there exist many backward individuals in the midst of the conscious and disciplined workers', but they must be cut down to size 'by the workers themselves', and, 'if they show themselves intractable to persuasion and wish at every cost to subordinate to their "individualist ego" the vital interests of the masses, they must be isolated'.¹³⁶

In early 1920 Gramsci and the *ordinovisti* were completely isolated from the CGL and the maximalist directorate of the PSI. Paradoxically, at a time when Gramsci was writing a series of articles spelling out the differences between the factory council movement and the ideologies of syndicalism and anarchism, he and others were forced to seek some sort of tactical arrangement with the leadership of both the anarchists and the USI. Since 1918 the USI had watched with interest the developments in Torinese metalworking factories. Alibrando Giovannetti was one of the first prominent syndicalists to comment extensively on the factory council movement. On 6 December 1919 he wrote in *Guerra di Classe* arguing that it deserved support because it seemed to step from craft to union industrialism, the structure was anti-bureaucratic and the end result might be the seizure of the factories.¹³⁷ Through the syndicalist Cerri (one of the members of the Study Committee and according to Viglongo a police spy), the USI invited the movement to send one delegate to the USI's Parma congress, held on 20–23 December.¹³⁸

One of Gramsci's acolytes, Matta, delivered a speech and letter composed by the Committee of Study, but this received a mixed response from the delegates. Matta insisted that *L'Ordine Nuovo* did not regard trade unions as potential revolutionary institutions, for the same reasons that Garino had advanced a few weeks earlier at the congress of the Chamber of Labour of Turin.¹³⁹

In response Nicola Vecchi expressed doubt whether the factory councils were anything else than the old internal commissions with a new title.

Pace thought there were institutions of collaboration. Mariani was pleased with the developments in Turin but expressed fears that the movement might facilitate a socialist dictatorship. He was particularly concerned that politicians, removed from the life of the workshop, might use the movement for their own ends. Borghi brought the discussion to a close by first distancing himself from the 'intellectuals' of the council movement. He could not understand why *L'Ordine Nuovo* persisted in dividing the industrial syndicalism of the USI, which earned scorn, from the rather similar politics of the American IWW, which were praised. He also reminded the Torinese that the USI was a *member* of the Third International, so implying the endorsement by the Bolsheviks of the Italian syndicalists. Nevertheless, Borghi also expressed his delight at the decision to give the vote to the non-unionized; and acknowledged that the intellectuals, 'the educated youth' of *L'Ordine Nuovo*, had helped stimulate this praiseworthy development.¹⁴⁰ The resolution concerning the Torinese movement was highly supportive.¹⁴¹

During the same month one of the most significant examples of the popular appeal of anarchism (or at least famous anarchists) occurred when Malatesta visited Turin on 29 December immediately after his return to Italy and was met by a massive crowd of 100,000,¹⁴² but the opening to the national anarchist and syndicalist movements did not last. The next major encounter between the USI and the *ordinovisti* occurred when Viglengo and Togliatti, on behalf of the Study Committee, were sent to report on the occupation of the main metalworking and shipbuilding works in Sestri Ponente, Cornigliano and Campi. In Liguria Togliatti and Viglengo had discovered a 'new type of opportunism – the opportunism of revolt'.¹⁴³ The syndicalist organizer, Angelo Faggi, had used the occupations merely to pressurize employers and the state to settle a minor dispute, but this report, and the rising tide of anti-syndicalist comment in *L'Ordine Nuovo*, did not go unanswered. Garinei expressed his disquiet at the factory council movement, and in a leader in *Guerra di Classe* published in March, the Torinese factory council movement was no longer given the benefit of the doubt.¹⁴⁴ Borghi pointed to the German left where councils could be syndicalist, socialist or communist, depending on the local balance of power.¹⁴⁵ Further tensions developed with the Torinese as the Milanese anarchists and syndicalists became the chief proponents of the factory councils in that city. They were using the councils to win over maximalist socialists alienated by Serrati's temporizing. The Milanese general strike at the end of February became more than a disturbing outside example of serious clashes between Italian socialists and anarchists.¹⁴⁶

After the events of 28 and 28 February became known in Turin, the

Chamber of Labour pleaded for calm. However, on 3 March, during a demonstration in support of the victims of repression by the new right-wing Hungarian dictatorship, a smaller version of the Milanese troubles occurred in Turin. After Gennari and Serrati had spoken, the hot-tempered Margarita attacked the role of the Milanese socialists during the recent general strike. Some of his comrades stormed the podium and Barberis was prevented from speaking, even though Garino had tried to stop the heckling and fighting. The police finally intervened and halted the meeting.¹⁴⁷ The socialists were furious. The next day Gramsci likened Margarita to a strike-breaker. He underlined the importance of public meetings as a symbolic action which transcended the craft divisions of the working class. The 'meeting-breaker' was an insensitive egotist and prevented the working class from carrying out its demonstrations and thereby acquiring a clearer form of collective class consciousness.¹⁴⁸

The clashes in Milan and Turin were sparked off by the growing popularity of the anarchists and syndicalists in both cities. In *Barriera di Milano* and *Borgo San Paolo* the anarchists organized several relatively well-attended demonstrations. The adulation of Malatesta also increased the popularity of the anarchists that spring, so that Alfonso Leonetti's letter from Milan, published in 13 March in *L'Ordine Nuovo*, represented a response to what in the eyes of Gramsci was an alarming growth of 'subversive' politics.

As we have seen, Leonetti had not always been hostile to the anarchists but, now, Leonetti had changed rather dramatically. In 1918 he had still been able to support a united front extending from maximalists to the libertarians and anti-war republicans; by early 1920 he had become Gramsci's megaphone.¹⁴⁹ The personal popularity of Malatesta was explained in distinctively *ordinovisto* language.

Errico Malatesta arouses pity because of his boundless childishness. He has a revolutionary conception that must be called masonic and populist. . . . He confuses a great industrial city, that lives and can only live through the advanced relations that connect one factory to another and tie production to the bank, with a Southern encampment of poor peasants for whom 'to expropriate' means only to invade a large estate. He has messianic faith in the elemental power of the people, indeed in the common people . . . for him it is 'the people' who must decide everything. And who are the 'people': one hundred loudmouths who proclaim convinced and satisfied: 'We are the people'.¹⁵⁰

Leonetti's article caused a great stir in the anarchist press, and as I mentioned, the March and April issues of *L'Ordine Nuovo* are greatly

taken up by articles on syndicalism and anarchism. Indeed, Gramsci delivered some of his most polemical and satirical shafts at both systems of thought. Nevertheless, with leading socialists in opposition to the *ordinovisti* and the factory council movement, Gramsci was forced to swallow his pride and negotiate with the anarchists. In Turin of course the local anarchists within the factory council movement were on much better terms. These anarchists found Margarita's behaviour distasteful, and both socialists and anarchists realized that the factory council movement would have to become a national factor if it was to face with confidence the challenges mounted by employers and the mainstream socialist and trade union movement.

Leonetti's article resulted in two anarchist factory commissars refusing to distribute *L'Ordine Nuovo* in their workshops. Gramsci published a rebuttal in his 'Unità proletaria' ('Proletarian Unity') (*L'Ordine Nuovo*, 28 February–6 March 1920). Here Gramsci restates his earlier position outlined during the war. Although he wanted to work in unity with the local anarchists, many Italian anarchists and syndicalists were unaccountable for their actions and merely divided the labour movement into yet more parties. Gramsci contrasted the irresponsible street orator or syndicalist trade union politician with the productive industrial worker. For Gramsci, repeating his classificatory scheme first advanced during the war:

The libertarian movement is for the most part a movement with a masonic character (we use the word masonic in a similar sense as that of the word 'religious'), in which the proper discipline of political parties, discipline born from discussion about concrete problems dependent upon a fundamental political doctrine is substituted by very disparate ties; personal friendship, the prestige of a name, the fear of being called traitor, is substituted for ties similar to those that bound together the workers of the old artisanal corporations and the *compagnages*.¹⁵¹

In March the anarchists in the factory council movement helped draft a manifesto which was largely written by Gramsci and Togliatti. The Fascio Libertario was one of the local groups that signed it; however the manifesto's proposed national congress of internal commissions was never held because the April strike intervened in the meantime. According to Clark, the balance of power had shifted so favourably towards Tasca's views that if such a congress had been held, a pro-union position would have predominated. This, I feel, is too exaggerated. It was Gramsci rather than Tasca who was behind the manifesto and he saw it as a way to outmanoeuvre more moderate elements; thus the role of the anarchists took on greater significance. In Gramsci's polemical 'Address to the Anarchists'

Gramsci concludes with a final appeal to lay aside the debates over class consciousness and the dictatorship of the proletariat that had divided the *ordinovisti* from the anarchists. Instead Gramsci appealed to the spirit of unity.¹⁵²

The Piedmontese General Strike

In early 1920 the local employers decided to take measures against the factory council movement. The inability of local trade union leaders to regain their former dominance, a series of wildcat stoppages over piece-rates which hit production, the syndicalist occupation of factories in Liguria and the government requisition of the Mazzoni's factories, greatly angered and alarmed local industrialists. Led by their secretary, Gino Olivetti, the Industrial League declared all-out war on the factory council movement. Olivetti realistically summarized factory council ideas in a series of articles for his own in-house journal. In a speech at the General Confederation of Industry, on 7 March, he called for the suppression of the factory councils on the grounds that there could not be 'two authorities in the factory'.¹⁵³ He also realized that the government might not comply fully with the industrialists' wishes and they might have to bring the matter to a head by calling a lockout. The conflict began over the introduction of summer time on 21 March. As Clark explains:

Legal time was a characteristic feature of war-time Industrial Mobilization, and its introduction was thought to indicate the bourgeois government's desire to maintain war-time industrial conditions.¹⁵⁴

The Chamber of Labour declared that summer-time was 'intolerable to proletarian sentiments, mindful of the dictatorial decrees of the war period'.¹⁵⁵ It was also denounced by the anarchists in *Umanità Nova*. Such issues of principle were extremely important to many workers: witness the strikes before the war and in 1919 over the abolition of the *tolleranze*. It therefore comes as no surprise that an anarchist worker was central to the confrontation that precipitated the lockout. On 22 March the internal commission of the Fiat-owned Industrie Metallurgiche unilaterally put back the hands of the factory clock. The secretary of the internal commission, Garino recalls, 'was an anarchist called Berra, a Vercellese, carpenter modelmaker, one very active in the Modern School, he had a glass eye, an old man, a real type, as they say, expansive, he had one flaw, that he liked to drink a little too much, he was well educated, he was a follower of Galleani'.¹⁵⁶

The following day Berra and the members of the internal commission were dismissed for insubordination. The workers called an internal strike. Simultaneously another conflict arose at the Accaierie Fiat over the rights of the internal commissions. The prefect's support for the employers' new determined stand was crucial. The prefect agreed to expel workers from the Industrie Metallurgiche works on the evening of 24 March. *Umanità Nova* reported that the police had succeeded in overwhelming the workers because white-collar workers had let them in through a back entrance.¹⁵⁷ Although later negotiations failed to settle the questions of principle, the management eventually agreed to rescind the dismissals, but insisted that the members of the former internal commission should not be allowed to hold office for a year, although this according to Gramsci, would have deprived the commissars of their 'proletarian civil rights'.¹⁵⁸

On 26 March FIOM called a meeting of workshop commissars from all the metalworking factories. They decided to go on internal strike on 27 March, and although it was called off the next day, the internal strike in fact continued unofficially. On 29 March the industrialists locked out the workers. Clark notes the peculiarities of this strike which in certain respects recalls the 1912 conflict.

The workers' main aim was to defend an 'unofficial' institution that had been bitterly attacked by the Unions. Yet the negotiations both then and later, were formally about the powers and the role of the Internal Commissions, the only body recognised in factory regulations. 'Factory Councils' and 'Workshop Commissars' were never mentioned, which obviously made a negotiated settlement on the issue impossible.¹⁵⁹

Secondly, the workers were not being led by trade unions representatives, but by a Committee of Agitation, elected by the workshop commissars on 26 March. The first Committee lasted until 3 April, and consisted of two anarchists (Garino and Ferrero), and the abstentionist Boero. On 2 April the Committee agreed that the internal commission had no right to alter the clock hands, that its members should resign and finally that workers should not be paid for hours on strike and that they should have consulted the local FIOM executive before striking. Attempts to have the factory council rights reactivated at Accaierie Fiat were met by a rebuff. A new negotiating team met on 6 April. The workers' side consisted of Bruno Buoizzi, Garino, Carmagnola, Chignoli, Cattaneo and Gino Guarnieri. Garino was in effect surrounded by the very reformists he had battled throughout 1919. The negotiators, the prefect noted, were in a conciliatory mood. Buoizzi seemed to be intent on removing the 'abuses' of the internal commissions. The dispute was settled with workers paying a one hour's

fine while management promised to pay members of the internal commission in future for time spent on their duties.¹⁶⁰

The terms of the agreement were rejected by the local branch of FIOM and by an assembly of workshop commissars. A referendum of 11,579 out of 50,000 metalworkers, however, voted 794 in favour of accepting the settlement. Work was to resume on 12 April after two stormy meetings at which the workshop commissars heard calls to annul the referendum.¹⁶¹ The dilemma faced by the anarchists during the first phase of the strike is illustrated through the workshop commissars' reaction to the 'yes' vote in the referendum. Although a return to work implied a severe limitation of the principles of the internal commissions, both Buoizzi and Ferrero felt that to deny the vote would be an undemocratic act. Garino was concerned of the danger that disenchanted workers would ignore the activities of the internal commissions on their return to work. Cerri and Vanone (anarchist workshop commissars) even offered to employ their revocable mandates and resign if workers displayed lack of confidence in them after work resumed.¹⁶² However, at this point, the employers sprang their trap.

When the industrialists' and the workers' representatives met at the prefecture on 11 April to sign the agreement to end the dispute, the former without warning demanded that the now weakened internal commissions lose most of their powers. The grievance procedure was changed so that the internal commission could only be contacted after work. All complaints would have to first be given to the foremen. Clark, with good cause, suggests that the employers were emboldened to increase the stakes because of the apathy displayed around the referendum. He also suggested that workers were less enamoured of the factory council movement than was supposed.¹⁶³ On 13 April the workshop commissars rejected the employers' proposals, even though Buoizzi claimed that they were a big advance on the official regulations. On the same day the Chamber of Labour proclaimed a general strike to defend the factory councils. Both the PSI and the Chamber of Labour joined a Committee of Agitation and published a special strike newspaper, *Lavoratori Avanti!*¹⁶⁴

In the suburbs Garino addressed a large angry crowd in Barriera di Milano. As he proclaimed a strike, *carabinieri* and Royal Guards dispersed the demonstrations. Garino was arrested and held temporarily in the Carcere Nuove.¹⁶⁵ The Agitation Committee was confronted by a dilemma. Although it needed national support, it realized that the leaders of the CGL or the PSI would not endorse negotiation that secured the recognition of the factory councils. On 17 April the Committee called a general strike throughout Piedmont, and it encouraged a peasants' strike at Vercelli,

Novara and Pavia, which it rather optimistically assimilated to the strike in Turin. In the suburbs some barricade building, as well as scattered cutting of telegraph, telephone and rail links were reported by the prefect. Outside of Piedmont the dockers in Genoa and Livorno, and the railway-men in Florence and Pisa refused to transport troops to Turin. Many of these acts were organized by anarchists and syndicalists.¹⁶⁶

However, the national council of the PSI deliberated in Milan not to initiate a national movement of support. When the PSI refused to commit itself to the movement, the Torinese Chamber of Labour realized that only a negotiated settlement was possible. Union leaders even promised to negotiate the future of the internal commissions, and these negotiations, now restricted to the metalworking factories were conducted between D'Aragona and Olivetti. In effect, the Committee of Agitation was reduced to a powerless propagandist organ.¹⁶⁷ The dynamics in the April strike bear many resemblances to the prewar struggle of the *Sindacato Unico*. Syndicalists and anarchists then, and a coalition of radical socialists and libertarians now, were quite unable to arrive at a satisfactorily negotiated settlement without the help of the union whose leaders they pretended to despise. Unofficial organizations had no protection under the law, and when these mounted a direct challenge to the state and the industrialists, trade union leaders ignored them. After the PSI and the CGL refused to intervene to secure a 'political solution', a negotiated economic settlement based on other terms had to be accepted. Moreover, just as before the war, strikers were reduced to penury. Without generous strike funds, neighbourhood solidarity and high spirits were not nearly enough.

The radicals knew that in order to secure some sort of victory they needed to forge national alliances. Factory councils on the Torinese model were virtually non-existent outside their city. A national convention of internal commission would have meant mixing (perhaps uneasily) with syndicalists from Liguria and Milan, leading undoubtedly to a challenge to PSI and CGL domination of the labour movement. This never happened. Garino and Ferrero spoke on several occasions in April of the need for such a national political movement, yet perhaps they realized unity with the USI and the UAI was not enough. Later, like Gramsci, they blamed the very reformists of the CGL for not seizing the nettle. Garino and Ferrero realized the absurdity of this demand when they denounced the Pact of Alliance as a dead end.¹⁶⁸ Without a national movement which somehow transcended sectarian boundaries, the factory council movement was as isolated as the prewar *Sindacato Unico* had been. Such a national organization would have had to have been strong enough to face almost immediate civil war. No such organization existed beyond the world of

manifestos. Nor for that matter did an alternative communist party exist, except as a theoretical concept in the minds of Bordiga or Gramsci.

Even those very real attempts to seek allies beyond Turin had their problems. Contacts with the anarchists were always open to misunderstandings. Thus, for example, 'Sanculotto', *Umanità Nova*'s chief reporter during the April strike, offended many socialists by what they felt was his inaccurate reporting. During the height of the strike some anarchists chose to air their suspicions that socialists were more interested in the autumn municipal and communal elections than the current crisis. In Milan the anarchists accused the socialists of doing nothing to prepare for a revolutionary confrontation.¹⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the Torinese socialists did try to make contact with anarchists in Milan; considering Leonetti's unflattering portrait of Malatesta this seems extraordinary. On the very day Leonetti's article was published (13 March), Togliatti was in Milan addressing a large audience mainly composed of anarchists and syndicalists on the Torinese factory council movement.¹⁷⁰ Once the strike broke out in April, the anarchists expressed their solidarity. On 5 April the *questore* of Milan reported Malatesta having urged Milan to rise in defence of Turin.¹⁷¹ As the strike continued anarchist and syndicalist influence in Milan appeared to grow, which in turn exacerbated existing tensions within the Milanese branch of the PSI. On 18 April, as the general strike entered its sixth day, Malatesta published an article calling on anarchists to aid the Torinese strikers. In the same issue of *Umanità Nova* the Torinese socialists published an appeal to the Italian working class.¹⁷² Boero travelled to Milan to discuss the strike with Malatesta.¹⁷³ On 20 April reports of solidarity actions by railwaymen and sailors greatly pleased Malatesta.¹⁷⁴ His article, like similar ones written by Togliatti and Gramsci, praised these spontaneous acts of solidarity. On 21 April, *Umanità Nova* published an appeal to the Italian working class issued by the Strike Committee. It also appeared in *Avanti!* (Turin), but *Avanti!* (Milan) refused to print it.¹⁷⁵ Finally, during the national conference of the PSI, Terracini met Malatesta to discuss what help the anarchists might lend to the Torinese. Luigi Fabbri singled out Terracini for praise during the conference of socialists as being one of the few delegates who demanded the party lead an insurrection.¹⁷⁶ However, Serrati and other Milanese maximalists were concerned that local workers might act on impulse. During the congress the anarchist Soriani of the Milanese SFI agitated for a general strike, but his voice was not strong enough to override the pacific intentions of Milan's socialist and trade union leaders.¹⁷⁷ For the perceptive *questore* of Milan, Gasti, the failure of the April strike was immediately recognized as a great defeat.¹⁷⁸

The anarchists were depressed and angered by the strike's failure. Predictably they accused the socialists of betrayal. They criticized what they believed was a false sense of discipline that had bound socialists to their own cowardly leadership. They contrasted the discipline that placed every movement under the 'calculations, fears, mistakes and possible betrayals of the leaders' to the other discipline of the workers of Sestri Ponente who struck in solidarity with Turin, the discipline of the railway workers who refused to transport security forces to Turin and the anarchists and members of the *Unione Sindacale* who forgot considerations of party and sect to put themselves at the disposition of the *Torinesi*.¹⁷⁹

However, Luigi Fabbri's estimation of the strike's potential was far closer to the pessimism Gramsci expressed both in July 1920, and later in 1924.¹⁸⁰ The results of the strike for Fabbri were undeniably bad. Unlike during the Red Week the government was prepared and had secured the streets during the first days of the dispute. Even, he went on to argue, a national general strike would have accomplished little to ease the pressure on the *Torinesi*.¹⁸¹

Aftermath: May–August 1920

The failure of the April strike discredited the factory council movement under the leadership of the *ordinovisti*. May was an uncomfortable month for Gramsci. Both congresses of the Chamber of Labour and FIOM isolated his position, and Buozzi and the reformists triumphed at the metal-workers congress.¹⁸² Meanwhile, the socialists turned on the factory council anarchists, who in turn began to lose credibility amongst their fellow libertarians. Although a semblance of solidarity between socialists and anarchists returned after the killings during the May Day march, ideological recriminations soon reappeared.¹⁸³ By 4 May the anarchists were accusing the socialists of inaction during the strike. *Avanti!* (Turin) retorted calling the anarchists demagogues. A debate between Ottavio Pastore and the reformists of *Battaglie Sindacali* also dragged in the anarchists and syndicalists. Bianchi had accused the ideologists of *L'Ordine Nuovo* of stirring up the pot, and furthermore he likened their claims of betrayal by the CGL to a typically syndicalist mentality. Pastore responded in an article bound to offend even the most steadfast anarchist supporter of *L'Ordine Nuovo*. Pastore claimed that the much trumpeted solidarity of the anarchists and syndicalists with the *Torinese* general strike of April was a mirage. Malatesta's manifesto in *Umanità Nova* had not added a single striker to the Piedmontese strike. The 'syndicalists of Sestri had not struck in solidarity with the *Torinese* but to spite the confederals of Genoa and

Sampierdarena, following a misunderstanding and completely in good faith, they decided not to go on general strike, believing the Torinese movement finished'.¹⁸⁴

In response Nono De Bartolomeis wrote a bitter reply for *Umanità Nova*.¹⁸⁵ He recalled that socialist emissaries (Boero and Terracini) had been sent to Milan during the strike to meet the anarchists and syndicalists. He also recalled the 'Appeal of the Workshop Commissars' had not been published in *Avanti!* (Milan), but had appeared in *Umanità Nova*. The solidarity of the railwaymen and anarchists in Milan and Genoa had been instinctive, but the PSI and the CGL had disowned the movement. Finally, and his eyes most importantly, neither Torinese anarchists nor *Umanità Nova* had taken advantage of this difficult situation to extend their influence.

As the month wore on the atmosphere grew even more recriminatory. The congress of the Turin Chamber of Labour (23–26 May) was taken up mostly with a post-mortem of the strike. However, Tasca's speech came as a surprise to most local union leaders, and his proposal concerning the future of the internal commission was not very different from the fairly moderate programme already advanced by the Milanese socialist Schiavello. Unlike Gramsci, he proposed fusing the trade unions and the factory councils into a single organization. Control of production would be shared by the factory council and the union. The factory councils would create industrial unions from the older craft-based organizations. Tasca's proposals effectively re-established the union leaders' position locally. Internal commissions would continue to exist but they would not take policy-making decisions. The executive council of the local branch of FIOM was not to be elected by the workshop commissars but by all the local members of the union. Policy decisions would be effectively in the hands of the union leadership even if commissars had some say. Tasca's proposal proved acceptable to local union leaders.¹⁸⁶

The only opposition to Tasca came from the anarchists and syndicalists, and without the protective coloration of the factory council movement they were very exposed. The anarchist resolution was presented by Ferrero, Garino and Caldaro. They drew up a motion in great haste proclaiming the factory councils were 'bodies absolutely opposed to the State'. For Garino the councils were industrial units based on libertarian principles.¹⁸⁷ The debate became quite animated when Garino accused Lenin of tyrannical acts. Garino did not denounce the entirety of Bolshevik rule, rather he called for a real form of proletarian unity at the grass roots, and even if he opposed the Third International, because it negated the anarchist ideal, nevertheless, 'their [the anarchists] opposition will be loyal and fraternal as long as the revolution is in danger'.¹⁸⁸

The following day Ferrero spoke and rejected the unjust criticisms of the Committee of Study, which had in fact created and guided the factory council movement for eight months. Then he read out the anarchist resolution, which combined the Gramscian conception of division of unions and councils with a particularly libertarian political perspective.¹⁸⁹ Tasca was in a strong position to confront the anarchist opposition. Indeed Tasca identified the absent Gramsci's position with the anarchists, as the next few weeks' polemics in *L'Ordine Nuovo* demonstrated.

In May and June Tasca accused Gramsci of embracing syndicalism; Gramsci defended his position and in doing so criticised the libertarians to demonstrate his Marxist *bona fides*, but this upset both the maximalists and the anarchists.¹⁹⁰ At the congress of the Chamber of Labour Tasca had attacked the anarchists in order to heighten his own Marxist credentials, whilst supporting an essentially reformist resolution. Tasca's defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and his attack on the anarchists' 'unscientific' humanism and disruptive individualism, does sit oddly with his more measured tones in other articles published during the *biennio rosso*. He argued that the dictatorship of the proletariat was 'permanent'. It might vary in the way it manifested itself but 'the communist regime' could only be represented through the 'consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship'.¹⁹¹

Tasca's resolution won easily; the anarchists received a mere seven votes. Later in the month at the national congress of FIOM (Genoa 20–24 May) the anarchists were equally isolated, although Garino's proposed Committee of Study on the Manufacture of War Materials received a favourable response. However, the discussion about the April strike caused stormy scenes. Ferrero was forced to deny Buozzi's claim that the councilists had set out deliberately to destroy FIOM. The strike, Ferrero argued, failed because of a lack of national preparation, and therefore exposed the strikers to the full rigours of the state and capital.¹⁹² While Garino criticized the role of the CGL '[t]here was a united front of the bosses but not of the proletarians', the outcome was predictable. The activities of the national leadership during the strike were approved by a three to one majority.¹⁹³

By the summer of 1920 Gramsci's isolation became nearly complete. After suffering defeat at the Chamber of Labour and within FIOM, Gramsci's position within the local branch of the PSI was marginalized. The alliance of *ordinovisti* and abstentionists that had controlled the executive since February collapsed. New elections were held in August, and one of the key issues was the relationship of the socialists to the anarchists and syndicalists. As we have already seen, the anarchist and syndicalist

presence increased in June and July partly due to the vacuum left by the failure of the *ordinovisti*, partly because of growing discontent over inflation, partly by the intervention in Albania and Russia and the forthcoming contractual negotiations with the increasingly intransigent industrialists of the engineering and metalworking industries. In late July the executive committee of the local branch of the PSI resigned after Tasca and Terracini expressed their opposition to Boero's participation at a large demonstration organized by the libertarians on 7 July.¹⁹⁴ Three factions fought for control of the Party: the electoralists who represented most of the maximalists (as well as Togliatti, Terracini and Tasca), the abstentionists, and Gramsci's minuscule 17-member Communist Education Group.¹⁹⁵

Gramsci's position attempted to steer a course between the dogmatism of the abstentionists and the opportunism of the electoralists. Central to Gramsci's position was an attempt to retain a linkage with a mass movement that transcended party lines; the factory councils were still identified as the appropriate venue for such a venture even if at present anarchists and syndicalists predominated.¹⁹⁶ Although Gramsci had denounced the unofficial demonstration organized by the anarchists and syndicalists at the end of June, he was still prepared to engage in discussion with the libertarians.¹⁹⁷ A new Committee of Study was elected in July headed by Gramsci's closest associate in the summer, Andrea Viglongo. Four of its nine members were anarchists, and in July and August Viglongo sought out and reported on the activities of the anarchists. The UAI congress in Bologna was given an enthusiastic if slightly condescending pat on the back.¹⁹⁸ Viglongo was also sent to Milan and Ancona to report on the recent mutiny and rising in the capital of the Marches.

In Milan Viglongo received credentials from Malatesta that allowed him to interview the Anconan anarchists, many of whom were still in hiding. Viglongo had been outraged by the highly inaccurate reporting found in *Avanti!* Its reporter had claimed that the mutiny had been concocted by officers in the 11th regiment of the *bersaglieri* threatened with decommissioning. Viglongo concluded that both the mutiny and the rising lacked sufficient organization but were genuinely popular. A premeditated plan had not existed; in fact the mutiny had come as a complete surprise. The mutineers had only very briefly used one of the five armoured cars available. In the event the demoralized *bersaglieri* had retreated to their barracks before the insurgents – several hundred lightly armed civilians – had moved into action. Although the railway station and five hill forts fell to the insurgents, the *Cittadella* (the Citadel) remained firmly in the control of the security forces. The railway station was shelled by a gunboat, and very soon the insurgents retreated before heavily armed troops.¹⁹⁹

Viglongo drew four conclusions in his article. He denied that revolutionaries could rely upon the mutinous Army to lead the revolution. Secondly, 'technical' preparation was imperative. However, the Socialist Party had never been interested in assuming such responsibilities. Thirdly, Viglongo demanded a 'communist' military organization. Finally, he accused the anarchists of disregarding the local socialists' attempt at forging united action. The local anarchists, he claimed, had refused to join an Agitation Committee and preferred to fight in an ill-coordinated fashion.²⁰⁰

The anarchist response to Viglongo's article was swift and for the most part hostile. First there was the question of Viglongo's factual accuracy. According to Malatesta, the anarchists had refused to join the Agitation Committee because in fact it had been established to negotiate with the prefect and had nothing to do with the rising.²⁰¹ Gigi Damiani, one of the staff of *Umanità Nova*, also defended the activities of the anarchists and asked whether in order to avoid isolation in future, the socialists were prepared to join the anarchists in short-term tactical alliances.²⁰² Fabbri was slightly less antagonistic. He did not dismiss Viglongo's report out of hand. Isolated revolts, as he had said about the April strike, were useless.²⁰³ But he did ask Viglongo to recall that the UAI congress had tackled the problem of coordination at the grass roots; besides hadn't the anarchists organized rather effective joint committees with the socialists and republicans during the Red Week? Malatesta had the last word. He was particularly resentful since he had helped Viglongo approach the anarchists in the first place. He criticized the theoreticians of 'dictatorial socialism' who had not troubled themselves about real preparation for a revolutionary insurrection. Likening the Anconan anarchists to antiquated Mazzinian plotters, as Viglongo had, was absurd. If the anarchists had not yet endorsed the virtues of a revolution organized and managed through the Communist Party, they could well ask themselves where this mythical entity existed.²⁰⁴

When elections for the PSI executive were held in Turin in the middle of August, *Avanti!* (Turin) had already engaged in a six-week campaign against the anarchist contagion in the Torinese labour movement.²⁰⁵ Only the abstentionists were still prepared to search for alliances with the anarchists. Despite the Communist Education Group's encounters with the anarchists during the summer, which also included Viglongo's attendance at the anarchist organized political prisoners congress held in Florence on 15 August, their electoral document stressed the need for a unified socialist party so as better to counter 'the empty demagogic phraseology of the syndicalists'.²⁰⁶

The electoralists won the election and Togliatti was made the secretary of the local branch, but Gramsci's manifesto had outraged Ferrero and Garino, who responded in an angry letter published in *Umanità Nova*. Gramsci's closest allies in the factory council movement demanded a personal apology; he responded in an article published on the last Sunday before the occupation of the factories. His answer, a ringing endorsement of the state, reflects one of the themes of Chapter Five.²⁰⁷

Notes

1. This introduction draws upon, C. Levy, 'Italian Anarchism, 1870–1926', in D. Goodway (ed.), *For Anarchism: Historical and Theoretical Approaches*, London, 1989, pp. 61–8, and C. Levy, 'Charisma and Social Movements: Errico Malatesta and Italian Anarchism', *Modern Italy*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1998, pp. 205–17. Also see, A. Dadà, 'Gli anarchici italiani fra guerra di classe e reazione', in P. Alatri (ed.), *Storia della società italiana. La disgregazione dello Stato liberale*, vol. 21, Milan, 1982, pp. 382–98. For a general survey of the *biennio rosso* see, R. Vivarelli, *Storia delle origini del fascismo. L'Italia della grande guerra alla marcia su Roma*, Vols 1 and 2, Bologna, 1991.
2. ACS, PS 1919, B.79, Reports of the Prefect of Turin, 19 December 1919; 26 July 1920.
3. For accounts of the anarchist and syndicalist roles in the Torinese factory council movement, see M. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci and the Revolution that Failed*, New Haven, 1977, pp. 115–19, 135–8. For Garino, see pp. 86, 89, 101–2, 118, 135, 178, 185. For Ferrero, see pp. 119, 172, 185–6, 191. For De Bartolomeis, see p. 118. Also see, P. C. Masini, *Anarchici e comunisti nel movimento dei consigli a Torino (Primo dopoguerra 1919–1920)*, Turin, 1951; *Antonio Gramsci e l'Ordine nuovo visto da un libertario*, Turin, 1956; C. Doglio, 'I consigli di fabbrica e il movimento dei lavoratori in Italia', *Volontà*, vol. 6, 1951, pp. 360–4, 424–7, 596–604; J. M. Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism*, Stanford, 1967, pp. 122–8; P. Spriano, *L'Ordine nuovo e i consigli di fabbrica*, Turin, 1971, pp. 53–62; G. Maione, *Il biennio rosso. Autonomia e spontaneità operata nel 1919–1920*, Bologna, 1975, pp. 22, 50, 56, 58, 60–1, 77–8, 127, 135, 138, 192, 225–8, 257; G. Williams, *Proletarian Order*,

- London, 1975, 193–9 (however, he relies heavily upon Clark); V. Mantovani, *Mazurka blu. La strage del Diana*, Milan, 1979, pp. 130–1.
4. See meeting of 4 October 1919, in report of Prefect of Turin, 9 October 1919, ACS, PS 1919, B.148.
 5. *Umanità Nova*, 23 March 1920, p. 3; ACS, PS 144, Report of Prefect of Turin, 21 March 1920.
 6. *Umanità Nova*, 15 July 1919, p. 3; report of Prefect of Turin, 15 July 1919, ACS, PS 1919, B.148.
 7. *Umanità Nova*, 4 and 18 June 1920.
 8. For the anarchist movement in Piedmont see ACS, PS 1919, B.79, Prefect of Novara, 19 December 1919; Bettini, 1972, p. 273; C. Bermiani, 'Il Settembre a Novara, *Il Ponte*, 31 October 1970, pp. 1377–424.
 9. De Bartolomeis summarizes the dispute in *L'Avvenire Anarchico*, 12 September 1919, p. 3. For Giuseppe Rubino, see ACS, CPC 4481, 'Rubino Giuseppe'. Born 1900, Naples, carpenter. He left the FGS for the anarchists in 1920 and wrote for *Il Libertario* and *L'Avvenire Anarchico*. He was also active in the Ferrer Circle. For Giuseppe De Luisi, see AST, Procura del Re in Torino, Moti Rivoluzionari 1915–1920, Legione Territoriale dei Carabinieri Reali di Torino, 5 May 1920. For Margarita's 'I Refrattari', see ACS, PS 1919, Prefect of Turin, 19 December 1919. Margarita was taken to task by fellow anarchists for his abusive personality, see reports in *Il Libertario*, 15 January 1920, p. 3, where he is accused of 'stirring the pot'. Even his friends were exasperated by his eccentric behaviour.
 10. For Quaglino, see Mantovani, pp. 181, 200, 212, 216, 249, 268–70.
 11. Emma Ferraro wrote for *Donna Libertaria* before the war and for *Umanità Nova* (1920–2). Her pen name was 'Amaryllis'. She was born in Turin in 1895 and was a writer. See ACS, CPC 2032.
 12. G. Perillo, 'I comunisti e la lotta di classe in Liguria negli anni 1921–22', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 9, nos. 2–3, 1963, p. 199. Later he fled to South America to escape fascist persecution.
 13. ACS, PS 1919, B.124. Report of the Prefect of Turin, 20 March 1919.
 14. For Galleani see above p. .
 15. The American incident is covered in Avrich, 1988, *Anarchist Portraits*, Princeton, 1988, pp. 169–70. For Serrati's life as a journalist in the USA and his hostile encounters with the anarchists, see A. Rosada, *Serrati nell'emigrazione 1899–1911*, Rome, 1972; S. Garrani, 'Serrati negli Stati Uniti i giornalista sindacale e organizzatore degli emigrati italiani', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 8, no.

- 3, 1984, pp. 321–45. For Mussolini's attempts at recruiting Galleani, see Mantovani, p. 182. The latest account is in P. V. Cannistraro, 'Mussolini, Sacco-Vanzetti and the Anarchists: The Transatlantic Context', *Journal Modern History*, vol. 68, no. 1, 1996, pp. 36–8.
16. U. Fedeli, *Luigi Galleani. Quarant'anni di lotta (1891–1931)*, Cesena, 1956, pp. 143–50. For Galleani during the war, see Fedeli, *Luigi Galleani*, pp. 151–8, 161–9; P. Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti. The Anarchist Background*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 122–36.
17. L. Bettini, *Bibliografia dell'anarchismo*, Florence, 1972, p. 289; L. Fabbri, 'Luigi Galleani', *Studi Sociali*, 10 January 1932, p. 1; 25 April 1932, pp. 7–8.
18. P. Berman, 'The Torch and the Axe. The Unknown aftermath of the Sacco-Vanzetti Affair', *The Village Voice*, 17 May 1988, pp. 17–20; Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*, pp. 63, 76, 101, 108, 122–5, 146–8, 158; P. Avrich, *Anarchist Voices. An Oral History of Anarchism in America*, Princeton, 1995; ACS, CPC 4690; *Umanità Nova*, 5 October 1921, p. 2. For Raineri, see ACS, CPC 4208.
19. Fedeli, *Luigi Galleani*, pp. 162–3; A. Borghi, *Errico Malatesta*, New York, 1934, p. 189; Bettini, *Bibliografia*, p. 289; see Galleani's article, 'Soldato Fratello!', *Cronaca Sovversiva*, 15 May 1920, p. 1.
20. A. Borghi, *Mezzo secolo di anarchia*, Naples, 1954, pp. 189–96; see *Cronaca Sovversiva*, 7 February and 6 March 1920, p. 1.
21. See 'Lumpenproletariat', *Cronaca Sovversiva*, 17 January 1920, p. 1; 'Colla teppa' ('With the mob'), 14 February 1920, p. 1. For Ancona, see 'La breccia', 3 July 1920, *Cronaca Sovversiva*, p. 1: 'Dalla breccia d'Ancona prorompe la rivoluzione sociale.'
22. Fedeli, *Luigi Galleani*, p. 168.
23. Bettini, *Bibliografia*, p. 288.
24. L. Galleani, 'Lenin', *Cronaca Sovversiva*, 12 June to 10 July 1920.
25. Fedeli, *Luigi Galleani*, p. 169. Quagliano was also arrested for anti-militarist articles published in *Umanità Nova*, see Mantovani, *Mazurka Blu*, pp. 216–17.
26. AST, Legione Territoriale dei Carabinieri Reali di Torino to Procura-tura di Re, 14 April, 4 September 1920; *Umanità Nova*, 23 August 1920, p. 2.

I Senza Patria

Maurizio Garino – 1892 – Modelmaker

Emilio Berti – 1902 – Cabinetmaker

Luigi Berti – N/A – N/A

Camillo Boaretto – 1902 – Dyer

Valentino Tozzi – 1903 – Mechanic
Ferruccio Sanchino – 1901 – Mechanic
Giuseppe Pasinelli – 1902 – Turner
V. Franceschi – 1902 – Mechanic
Francesco Castano – 1898 – Labourer
Mario Buratti – 1901 – Shoemaker
Giovanni Perosina – 1903 – Driller

27. For Mairone, see ACS, CPC 2943; *Umanità Nova*, 18 March 1921, p. 1. For De Luisi, see AST, Legione Territoriale dei Carabinieri Reali di Torino, 4 May 1920. For Piolatti, see ACS, CPC 3989. For Musso, see ACS, CPC 3470; *Umanità Nova*, 11 June 1921, p. 1.
28. For Di Donato, see *Umanità Nova*, 18 March 1920, p. 4. For the syndicalists before March/April 1920, see Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 119; *Avanti!*, 1 December 1919, p. 2, ACS, PS 1919, B.126, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 2 April 1919; *La Squilla*, 12 September 1918, p. 1.
29. For the activities of the syndicalists in the summer of 1920 see Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 144–7; *Umanità Nova*, 30 June 1920, p. 1; 1 July 1920, p. 1. Galantucci and Piatti were active amongst tram drivers; Aliosi and Barbieri active at Michelin; Vittorio Brogi, Alessandro Canale and Cerri active amongst metal workers at Scat, Idea and Lancia. In July 1920 the USI even established a small *Sindacato Siderurgica*. See, *Umanità Nova*, 16 July 1920, p. 4; 18 July 1920, p. 5; 18 August 1920, p. 1; *Avanti!*, Piedmontese edition, 3 July 1920, p. 3.
30. For Brogi, see *Guerra di Classe*, 19 August 1920, p. 2.
31. For support of USI/FIOM unity, see Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 140, 146.
32. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 36–95; E. Soave, 'Appunti sulle origini teoriche e pratiche dei consigli di fabbrica a Torino', *Rivista Storica del Socialismo*, vol. 7, no. 21, 1964, pp. 1–20.
33. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 38. For the Garino/Colombino dispute, see ACS, CPC 2290.
34. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 38–40.
35. B. Bezza, 'Il sindacato di massa tra riorganizzazione capitalista e fascismo (1915–1925)', in M. Antonioli and B. Bezza, *La FIOM dalle origini al fascismo, 1901–1926*, Bari, 1978, pp. 116–17.
36. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 39.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–5.
38. Antonioli and Bezza, *La FIOM*, p. 73.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 459. For the rise of reformist productivism and role of Merrheim in France, see K. H. Tucker, *Revolutionary Syndicalism and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 168–70, 180–202.
40. M. Antonioli and B. Bezza (eds), *La FIOM dalle origini al fascismo, 1901–1926*, Bari, 1978, p. 459.
41. *La Squilla*, 12 September 1918, p. 2; 19 October 1918, p. 4; Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 38.
42. ACS, PS 1920, B.79, Report of the Prefect of Turin 22 October 1918.
43. *La Squilla*, 19 October 1918, p. 4.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Guerra di Classe*, 17 September 1918, p. 1.
46. M. Revelli, 'Intervista a M. Garino', Ms., Turin, 1975, p. 90.
47. ACS, PS 1920, B.79, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 27 August 1918.
48. ACS, PS 1919, B.124, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 22 October 1918. The campaign by the SFI is explained in *La Tribuna dei Ferrovieri*, 20 June 1918, p. 1, 10 September 1918, p. 2, 12 November 1918, p. 2; *La Difesa*, 6 July 1918, p. 2, 5 October 1918, p. 1. For Pastore, see *La Tribuna dei Ferrovieri*, 12 August 1918, p. 2, 12 November 1918, pp. 2–3. This formed part of a larger debate that included the anarchist leadership of the SFI (Augusto Castrucci and Angelo Sbrana) and the editorial staffs of *Guerra di Classe* and *Avanti!*
49. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 69.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
51. *Ibid.* p. 39.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–1.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Maione, *Il biennio rosso*, pp. 12–4.
56. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 41.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 43–4.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 44–5; see also Quaglino's article in *Il Libertario*, 27 March 1919 in which he calls for a social revolution based on workers' and peasants' councils, which excluded all politicians.
60. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 46; Soave, 'Appunti', p. 17.
61. 'Il programma dell'Ordine Nuovo', 14 August 1920, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, in *L'Ordine Nuovo 1919–1920* (edited by Valentino Gerratana and Anonio A. Santucci), Turin, 1987, pp. 619–20. [Hereafter *ON*].
62. Soave, 'Appunti', pp. 3–4.
63. A. Gramsci, *Il nostro Marx: 1918–1919* (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Turin, 1980, p. 270.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 318–9.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 417.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 437.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 438.
69. *Ibid.*
70. P. Spriano, *Storia di Torino operaio e socialista*, Turin, 1972, p. 298.
71. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 90. For the importance of anarchists see, Masini, *Anarchici*; Masini, *Antonio Gramsci*; A. Garosci, *Pensiero politico e storiografia moderna*, Pisa, 1954, p. 200.
72. N. d B, 'I commissari di reparto a Torino', *Volontà*, 1 Dec. 1919, pp. 3–4.
73. Soave, 'Appunti', pp. 9–10.
74. *Ibid.*
75. De Bartolomeis gives *L'Ordine Nuovo* much of the credit for launching the movement. *Volontà*, 1 June 1920, p. 1.
76. ACS, PS 1919, B.148, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 4 February 1919.
77. ACS, PS 1920, B.111, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 21 March 1919.
78. *Ibid.*
79. ACS, PS 1919, B.148, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 31 May, 22 June and 13 August 1919. For Pankhurst, see the *Workers' Dreadnought*, November 1919.
80. ACS, CPC 3053, Report of 20 October 1919.
81. ACS, PS 1919, B.148, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 17 and 20 March 1919; ACS, PS 1919, B.126, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 19 January, 2 April, 11 May 1919.
82. ACS, PS 1919, B.148, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 18 May 1919; ACS, PS 1919 B.126, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 18 May 1919.
83. ACS, PS 1919, B.148, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 8 June 1919. The meeting held on 7 June 1919 was entitled: 'Gli anarchici, il partito socialista nell'ora attuale' ('The Anarchists, the Socialist Party and the Present Hour').
84. ACS, PS 1919, B.126, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 10 April 1919.
85. *Ibid.*, 2 April 1919.
86. ACS, PS 1919, B.148, Reports of the Prefect of Turin, 4, 9 and 30 October 1919.
87. ACS, PS 1919, B.148, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 12 June 1919.
88. ACS, PS 1919, B. 79, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 19 December 1919.
89. ACS, PS 1919, B.148, Report of the Prefect of Turin, 27 May 1919.

90. Antonioli and Bezza, *La Fiom*, p. 458.
91. P. Spriano, *Storia del Partito Comunista Italiano*, vol. I, Turin, 1967, p. 46.
92. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 80.
93. R. Martinelli, *Il Partito Comunista d'Italia 1921-1926*, Rome, 1977, p. 69.
94. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 72.
95. Written 29 September 1920, published as 'Il movimento d'idee in Italia nel 1920', *Pagine Libertarie*, 22 April 1922, p. 149.
96. *Guerra di Classe*, 18 January 1920, p. 2.
97. For the young Berneri, see P. C. Masini, 'La formazione intellettuale e politica di Camillo Berneri', in *Atti del Convegno di studi, Camillo Berneri, Biografie*, Carrara, 1979, pp. 7-20; F. M. Santos, 'Stato e burocrazia: il potere nel pensiero di Camillo Berneri', in *Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Camillo Berneri nel cinquantennio della morte*, Pistoia, 1986. For the pained reaction to Gramsci's attacks, see Berneri's 'Il movimento anarchico', *Libero Accordo*, July 1920, p. 1; esp. 'L'unità rivoluzionaria ed il PSI', *Il Libertario*, 18 March 1920, pp. 2-3.
98. For De Bartolomeis, see *Volontà*, 16 November 1919, p. 2; 'Amaryllis' (Emma Ferrero), 'In risposta a Illario Margarita', *L'Avvenire Anarchico*, 19 May 1922, p. 4.
99. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 45.
100. *ON*, p. 621.
101. 15 May 1919, *ON*, pp. 22-4.
102. *ON*, pp. 37-8.
103. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 56. Quoted in P. Spriano, *L'Ordine nuovo e i consigli di fabbrica*, Turin, 1971, p. 49, *Avanti!*, Piemontese edition, 24 June 1919, 'La sezione socialista per l'istituzione dei Soviet.'
104. Soave, 'Appunti', p. 16.
105. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 84-5.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
113. O.P. (Ottavio Pastore), 'Il problema delle Commissioni interne', *L'Ordine nuovo*, 16 August 1919, in P. Spriano (ed.), *La cultura*

- italiano del 1900 attraverso le riviste, volume sesto. *L'Ordine Nuovo* (1919-1920), Turin, 1963, pp. 244-8 (hereafter, *ON-Spriano*); Andrea Viglione, 'Verso nuove istituzioni', *ON-Spriano*, pp. 254-8; 'Postilla', *ON-Spriano*, p. 258.
114. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 90-1. For Terracini, see *Avanti!*, Piedmontese edition, 15 December 1919, p. 2. The vote for the non-unionized 'has not been proposed by intellectuals but by the assemblies of workers who live in the workshop and are unionized'.
 115. Antonioli and Bezza, *La FIOM*, p. 575.
 116. *ON-Spriano*, p. 365.
 117. For Florence, see Bezza, 'Il sindacato di massa', p. 124. For the UAI Congress, see *Umanità Nova*, 1 July 1920, pp. 1-2.
 118. A. Gramsci, *Selections from Political Writings 1910-1920*, vol. 1 (selected and edited by Quintin Hoare, translated by John Matthews), London, 1977, p. 257, for original, see *ON*, p. 540. At an assembly of metalworkers Garino defended the vote for the non-unionized in these terms: 'One is dealing with the creation of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but if you believe that will really be a dictatorship of the whole class, you can't make distinctions between the unionized and non-unionized', see, *Avanti!*, Piedmontese edition, 2 Nov. 1919, p. 3. In June 1920 De Bartolomeis described the differences between council and union in Gramscian terms. The councils were extra-legal organizations that trained workers how to conquer the factories. Trade unions and syndicalism were less capable of initiating a revolutionary change because 'they are formed as organisms responding to the same basic law that govern today's society', *Volontà*, 1 June 1920, p. 3.
 119. Maione, *Il biennio rosso*, pp. 36-7.
 120. Bezza, 'Il sindacato di massa', p. 126.
 121. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 21 January 1920, p. 3.
 122. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 16 December 1919, p. 3.
 123. *Umanità Nova*, 1 March 1920, p. 4: 'We have noticed with pleasure that in all the workshops where our comrades are found, they have been selected by their work comrades as commissars'; Ndb (Nodo De Bartolomeis), 'I consigli di fabbrica', *Volontà*, 1 June 1920, pp. 3-5.
 124. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 94.
 125. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
 126. *Ibid.*
 127. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 57-9.
 128. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

129. Doglio, *I consigli di fabbrica*.
130. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 87.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
133. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 28 November 1919, p. 2.
134. Maione, *Il biennio rosso*, pp. 59–89.
135. Illario Margarita, 'Consigli d'officina e commisari di reparto', *L'Avvenire Anarchico*, 16 January 1920, pp. 2–3.
136. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 24 Nov. 1919, p. 1.
137. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 116.
138. Paulesu Quericioli, *Gramsci vivo*, p. 126. For a summary of the USI congress, see M. Antonioli, *Il sindacalismo italiano. Dalle origini al fascismo. Studi e ricerche*, Pisa, 1997, p. 67.
139. C. Bertrand, 'Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy, 1912–1922', Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1969, p. 294.
140. *Guerra di Classe*, 20 December 1919, p. 3; 3° Congresso dell'Unione Sindacale, *I consigli di fabbrica – A. Borghi*, Bologna, 1919, pp. 1–5.
141. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 116–17.
142. Levy, 'Charisma and social movements', pp. 209–11.
143. Clark, 1977, p. 94; 'Rapporto sui fatti di Sestri', in *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 13 March 1920, p. 317; A. Viglono, 'Momenti della lotta di classe nella prima metà del 1920', *IL Ponte*, 31 October 1970, pp. 1309–13.
144. *Guerra di Classe*, 31 January 1920, p. 1.
145. *Guerra di Classe*, 13 March, p. 1.
146. Mantovani, *Mazurka blu*, pp. 184–92; *Umanità Nova*, 7 March 1920, p. 6.
147. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 4 March 1920, p. 3.
148. *ON*, pp. 452–3. The *galleanisti* responded in anger, see 'Cesare', 'Chi sono i disfattisti della rivoluzione?', *Cronaca Sovversiva*, 20 March 1920, p. 1.
149. Leonetti, 1978, *Vittime italiane dello stalinismo in URSS*, Milan, 1978, p. 162.
150. 13 March 1920, *ON-Spriano*, pp. 458–61.
151. *ON*, pp. 438–43, 485–6.
152. Gramsci, *Selections*, p. 189, originally in Italian, see *ON*, p. 492.
153. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 98–9.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 98. On summer-time also see F. Adler, *From Liberalism to Fascism. Italian Industrialists, 1906–1934*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 217–18. Although in Germany a similar campaign against summer-

- time was advanced by the nationalist right. See, R. Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 220–1.
155. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 98–9. The revolt against summer-time might also be an example of a worker revolt against regimentation and work itself, as documented by Michael Seidman in the 1930s Popular Front governments in France and Spain. See, M. Seidman, *Workers against Work: Labor in Paris and Barcelona during the Popular Front*, Berkeley, 1991.
156. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 95.
157. *Umanità Nova*, 26 March 1920, p. 1.
158. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 100.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
161. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–3.
162. *Umanità Nuova*, 14 April 1920, p. 6; *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 11 April, p. 2.
163. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 104.
164. *Ibid.*, pp. 104–5.
165. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 95–7; *Umanità Nova*, 15 April 1920, p. 1; *Lavoratori Avanti!*, 15 April 1920, p. 1.
166. *Umanità Nova*, 16 April 1920, p. 1, 17 April 1920, p. 1.
167. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 108.
168. *Lavoratori Avanti!*, 24 April 1920, p. 1; Antonioli and Bezza, *La FIOM*, p. 589.
169. *Avanti!*, 10 April, 1920, p. 1.
170. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 117–18.
171. ACS, PS 1920, B.60, Report of the Prefect, 5 April 1920.
172. *Ibid.*, 8 April 1920, *Umanità Nova*, 18 April 1920, p. 1.
173. ASM, Pref B.317, Questore, 18 April 1920.
174. E. Malatesta, *Pagine di lotta quotidiana. Scritti, Vol. 1, Umanità Nova 1920/22*, Carrara, 1975, pp. 53–4; *Lavoratori Avanti!*, 18 April 1920, p. 1; *ON*, p. 503; *Umanità Nova*, 21 April 1920, p. 1.
175. Martinelli, *Il Partito*, pp. 82–3.
176. 'Le due anime del socialismo', *Umanità Nova*, 25 April 1920, pp. 2–3.
177. ASM, Pref. B.317, Prefect of Milan to Nitti, 15 April 1920.
178. *Ibid.*, 25 April 1920.
179. *Umanità Nova*, 25 April 1920, p. 1.
180. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 133–4.
181. *Umanità Nova*, 1 May 1920, p. 1.
182. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 135–8.

183. *Umanità Nova*, 4 May 1920, p. 2; *ON*, pp. 518–20.
184. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 6 May 1920, p. 1.
185. *Umanità Nova*, 14 May 1920, p. 2.
186. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 135–6.
187. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
188. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 23 May 1920, p. 1.
189. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 29 May 1920, p. 1.
190. See, *Spriano ON*, pp. 509–12, 518–34, 534–42, *ON*, pp. 538–42.
191. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, May, 1920, p. 1.
192. Antonioli and Bezza, *La FIOM*, pp. 584, 587–90.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 591.
194. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 140.
195. *Ibid.*, pp. 141–3.
196. *ON*, pp. 567–8; Maione, *Il biennio rosso*, pp. 204–6.
197. Viglono, 'Momenti', pp. 1318–24.
198. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 15 July 1920, p. 2.
199. *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 28 July 1920, p. 2.
200. *Ibid.*
201. *Umanità Nova*, 7 August 1920, p. 1; Malatesta, *Pagine*, pp. 125–27.
202. *Umanità Nova*, 1 August 1920, p. 1.
203. *Umanità Nova*, 8 August 1920, p. 1.
204. *Umanità Nova*, 27 August 1920, p. 1; Malatesta, *Pagine*, pp. 131–4.
205. See unsigned, 'Socialisti, sindacalisti e anarchici', *Avanti!* Piedmontese edition, 28 July 1920, p. 5.
206. Viglono, 'Momenti', pp. 1323–4; Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 142.
207. For Ferrero and Garino, see *Umanità Nova*, 19 August 1920, p. 1. For Gramsci's reply, see *ON*, pp. 643–5.

Productivism and Anti-Jacobinism

In this chapter I will discuss four aspects of Gramsci's ideology that impinged upon his encounters with the libertarians: productivism; the class basis of Marxist council communism; socialism as science and anti-Jacobinism. Much of the substance of Gramsci's argument has already been discussed in Chapter Three. Just as his notions of prefiguration were anticipated in wartime articles, so too Gramsci's analysis of anarchist and syndicalist ideologies is already set before *L'Ordine Nuovo* appears. The difference in the *biennio rosso* is one of examples and emphasis. The Russian soviet and the Torinese factory council are employed to heighten his existing criticism of the utopianism of the libertarians. The demands of postwar reconstruction as well as the events surrounding the Russian Civil War and the downfall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic increased his emphasis on the role of coercive, even dictatorial political remedies.

Productivist Ideology during the Biennio Rosso

In 1918–19 Europe faced the daunting task of postwar reconstruction while a larger enfranchised polity demanded greater power over their own destiny. Productivism was particularly attractive to both industrialists and the early fascists in Italy because it seemed to herald a new technological order, but productivism was not solely limited to the right and centre of the political spectrum: it appealed to the left throughout Europe. Its spirit and substance was anticipated by prewar syndicalist ideologies, and later, after the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin endorsed the use of Taylorism 'to reinforce Soviet power'.¹

Until recently it has been assumed that Taylorist methods had made great inroads in European industry during and after the war. Recent work demonstrates that at least in Italy, scientific management flourished more readily in the columns of newspapers than in factories. If one were to seek a checklist to measure the degree of penetration of Taylorism in Italian industry, current scholarship would argue that although newer systems of calculating wages were present, there was no full application of Taylorism.

Piece-work systems remained in place for skilled workers, while time-rate systems were being introduced for machine-operators and newer forms of workshop rates rather than individual rates began to function. The extent to which Taylorist practices flourished remained dependent on the specific conditions of local industries. Ideal-type conditions for Taylorism would require: the standardization of tasks; the reorganization and professionalization of management; the rearrangement of plant design; and the extent to which companies were dependent on politically controlled markets or freer trade with a market of fairly affluent consumers. In general, Italy lacked a managerial philosophy that linked the concepts of higher salaries to greater productivity. Even if Fiat was closer to the ideal-type, the Ansaldo engineering works in Liguria which did not employ newer forms of management but relied on state contracts, financial engineering and more artisanal methods of management on the shopfloor, were more representative of the labour process.² These findings mean that many of the accounts of industrial unrest during the *biennio rosso* are based upon false premises. So while Maione believed that the February 1919 accords were a Taylorist agreement *par excellence*, in fact there was little of the American's philosophy in them. We can also conclude that Gramsci's assimilation of Taylor's system into his theory of council communism was therefore just part of a broader trend within postwar Italian intellectual life rather than a correct reading of the realities of Italian industry.³

Gramsci, Mosso and Taylor

The critics and admirers of Antonio Gramsci are agreed upon one thing: his revolution would be productivist or not at all. Lenin's endorsement of Taylorist methods merely reiterated sentiments that Gramsci had harboured long before he knew of the Bolsheviks.⁴ Gramsci admired Italian bourgeois reviews such as *La Voce* and *L'Unità*, and the French and American radical magazines such as *La Vie Ouvrière* and *Liberator*, which stressed post-humanist culture and were alive to and appreciative of industrialism. He therefore thought the Italian futurists were revolutionaries even if he had reservations about their extravagances. Proletcultists were models to be imitated, and to complete the circle, Lunarcharsky's and Bogdanov's theories had been directly and significantly stimulated by their encounters with Marinetti, Italian syndicalist theorists, as well as a reading of Sorel during their long periods of exile in Italy before the war.⁵ In turn, Gramsci believed, although mistakenly, that industrial workers in Milan had before 1914 read futurist magazines and even defended futurists from the physical attacks of their philistine bourgeois critics.⁶

Battini, Telò, Dubla and Schecter have shown how Gramsci uncritically transferred the factory system of capitalism into his own future socialist commonwealth.⁷ Camillo Berneri remembered *L'Ordine Nuovo* in the 1930s.⁸ Gramsci's libertarian 'cousin' emphasized the psycho-social origins of the Sardinian's ideas, echoing earlier thoughts advanced by the radical liberal, Piero Gobetti. Berneri recalled that when he read the first edition of *L'Ordine Nuovo*, with its constant evocation of the role of heavy industry for the formation of a homogenous working class amongst crews of the workshops of Turin, he thought of Gramsci, 'dropped on Turin from his native Sardinia' and 'taken in' by the workings of metropolis and its rich trade union life. This, he thought, fascinated Gramsci and created an 'industrial mysticism' in *L'Ordine Nuovo* that was an analogous reaction to the same phenomena that had given birth to futurism.⁹

Nevertheless, much of the 'science' of Gramsci's 'industrial mysticism' derived from the anarchist Pietro Mosso's five articles on Taylorism published in *L'Ordine Nuovo*. Indeed, Gramsci felt the articles so important, he had intended to publish them in pamphlet form. Moreover, Mosso lectured at the short-lived school established by *L'Ordine Nuovo*.¹⁰ Mosso is an excellent example of what Gramsci might have meant by an 'organic intellectual'. As a factory technician at Fiat and part-time assistant of Professor Annibale Pastore, he epitomized the type of modern collectivist-minded white-collar worker Gramsci hoped to attract to the factory council movement. Mosso was just one of a small but active circle of technicians and clerks who adhered to the *Ordine Nuovo* group. As we have seen, it was the strike of technicians in the spring of 1919 that was one of the chief catalysts for the formation of the factory council movement; and when *L'Ordine Nuovo* started publication clerks and technicians contributed regularly, seeking to demonstrate the collectivist or socialist potential found amongst their colleagues.¹¹

While this may have seemed possible in the spring of 1919, very soon after the potential amongst the new middle classes diminished rapidly. For one of Gramsci's 'moral lifers', Attilio Carena, most white-collar workers were still suspicious of socialism in general and the factory council movement in particular. Clerks and technicians were not integrated into internal commissions of manual workers, and although he hoped that the new middle classes would finally break away from the influences of the humanist professionals, the small shopkeepers, or the rentiers, he had to confess to the readers of *L'Ordine Nuovo* that older mental habits persisted. Carena recognized the importance of white-collar skills for the planning and administering of the socialist factory yet he was bound to admit that in the present set of capitalist relations, they

violently resisted sharing their professional secrets or style of life with manual workers.

We see them separate themselves from the workers because they think themselves a 'superior class', because they believe themselves more educated. We see them dress more elegantly than workers, ... we see them aping 'distinguished' persons and posing in a ridiculous and nauseating manner.¹²

Carena's pessimism was borne out in another article written by Valentino Barbieri, a technician. Barbieri recalled the previous year's technician's strike had given birth to their own union and an affiliation with the Chamber of Labour. However, this *Sindacato Tecnica* died after only a few brief months of life. By the spring of 1920 most clerks and technicians were decidedly unfavourable towards the factory council movement.¹³

Therefore, although there was precious little evidence that such a producers' alliance was ever a realistic possibility, Mosso's first full-length article in *L'Ordine Nuovo* was aimed at his own peers rather than manual workers. The middle class was defined by Mosso in a functional manner to include all those individuals (industrialists, free professionals, technicians, 'men of art, culture and science', and private and public white collar workers) who used mental rather than manual skills to earn their income.¹⁴

Mosso urged that the middle classes be persuaded to use their invaluable skills for revolutionary reconstruction. He noted that the Russians had retained bourgeois specialists and hoped that Kropotkin's notion of integral education would in future erase the division between manual and intellectual labour so such expedients would not be necessary, but Mosso's productivism was fairly widespread in the anarchist movement.

Like Gramsci, in 1920 Malatesta posed the choice as either a conscious revolution or economic and social collapse, which meant that acts of sabotage, such as the destruction of livestock and crops during the bitter agricultural strikes of the summer of 1920 were condemned. In short, Malatesta wanted the striking peasants to acquire a producers' consciousness. Malatesta told his readers that the workers were 'on the verge of becoming the masters of what they have produced', and that with the 'revolution at the gates' workers must preserve production, especially food produce, to ensure that life continued normally after victory. 'Oh', he added, 'who ever thought that after the revolution there will be no need to eat?' 'The workers', he concluded, 'must from now on consider themselves as masters and begin to act like masters. To destroy goods is the act of a slave: a rebel slave but still a slave. Today the workers do not want to, and must no longer be, slaves.'¹⁵

Malatesta had always been unconvinced by Kropotkin's belief that spontaneous abundance would be at hand once a revolution overturned the old order. He realized that workers would be starved and demoralized within days if production was not maintained under new management. Therefore, he felt the occupation of the factories was a golden opportunity and urged the occupiers to create new networks of supply and exchange. Equally, like Lenin or Gramsci, he underlined the importance of acquiring control of the social functions done previously by the state. Furthermore, Paul Nursey Bray has noted the similarities between Gramscian hegemony and Malatesta's form of anarchism. Like Gramsci, Malatesta saw the need to not to just to replace the present state with new arrangements, 'but to abolish the obstacles to revolutionary change that exist in the institutions, practices and ideas of a modern and complex civil society'. His utopianism, however, became evident when he seemed to think Italy could survive a blockade by other capitalist nations. Indeed Italy was dependent on foreign coal and credit, and as a trading nation, it was at the mercy of the British Navy.¹⁶

However, one anarchist, the Milanese Ettore Molinari, sought to prove that a revolutionary Italy might survive through a policy of autarky; local lignite could replace foreign coal; local agriculture could feed the Italian population and the confiscation of excess steel and iron would supply basic needs of industry. In some respects his eccentric pamphlet anticipated Mussolini's ideas. Indeed it is difficult to imagine how the necessary rationing, accounting and central management of resource-starved industries could be accomplished through moral suasion or mere self-organization,¹⁷ but however far-fetched Molinari's arguments were they were not so different from the general tenor of Gramsci's or Mosso's. Articles in the socialist and labour press in 1918 and 1919 indicate an appreciation of Taylor's system as a method to increase production. Within any economic regime, it would free the mind of workers from mechanical tasks and thereby allow them to think autonomously, and one 'metallurgico libertario' ('libertarian metal worker') even celebrated the very division of labour that radicals were supposed to abhor. The worker, he argued, 'in order to produce needs to specialize himself in his job, as is finally allowed through the Taylor system'.¹⁸

Therefore certain anarchists, including Mosso, shared productivist inclinations. However, unlike other anarchists and socialists, both Gramsci and Mosso (perhaps also Malatesta) were critical of unthinking positivism. Gramsci and Mosso shared the formulative influence of Annibale Pastore whose critique of a positivist interpretation of science is evident in both men. While Pastore may have awakened in Gramsci an interest in Antonio

Labriola's philosophy of praxis or 'critical communism', Mosso the Kropotkinite, used Pastore's own philosophy, which approximated pragmatism, to depart from the simple-minded anarchist positivism that Gramsci had previously attacked. To understand these similarities we might compare Gramsci's and Mosso's conception of science to that of Weber's because Pastore's approach approximates the German's. There are curious affinities between Gramsci, Mosso and Weber in their approaches to science.¹⁹

How Gramsci would have reacted to Weber's definition of science is an open question, yet it can be surmised that Gramsci's definition was rather closer to Weber's than his ex-student Lukács's.²⁰ Certainly, Gramsci's view stood closer to Weber's than to Croce's. Although he employed the arsenal of Italian philosophical idealism in his battle against positivism in all its varieties, he was careful to criticize Gentile and Croce for undermining the cultural prestige of the scientific community. In similar fashion, Togliatti took the Lavocean Missiroli to task for praising anarchists for their attacks on Marxian scientific socialism.²¹ Nor did Gramsci have any sympathy for Lukács's conception of science as an ideological superstructure of the bourgeoisie. Instead, he conceived of the scientific revolution and its effects on post-Galilean societies in much the same fashion as Weber. Joseph Femia has noted the affinities:

Gramsci's concept of science, as a matter of historical fact, is not all that different from that of Weber, who – as it is known – resolutely upheld the cognitive supremacy of the scientific method. Weber, too, thought that descriptions of natural phenomena had to be filtered through *a priori* assumptions but also recognised that when these assumptions blatantly conflict with the data of the external world, they must be discarded. While scientists didn't, to his mind, discover external reality, totally independent of the human mind, neither did they 'produce' scientific theories in the same way that ideologists produce theories of man and society. There is no reason to believe that Gramsci disagreed with this characterisation of the scientific method.²²

Gramsci accepted Croce's criticism of the importation of the physical scientific method into historical investigation. On the other hand, he did not deny the need for some types of scientific criteria. A Marxist theory of historical reality, in the same fashion as Weber's (or closer to home, Sorel's) could only set out possibilities not iron-clad laws. Even Gramsci's division of society between superstructures and infrastructures is recognised as a methodological convenience. But at a rather sophisticated level, even Gramsci's Marxism must be classified as a scientific socialism, and he would have objected to the famous Weberian separation

of ethical socialism, on one hand, from Marxism as a heuristic device, on the other.²³

This, of course, is one of his central disputes with Croce, but nearer to home was Mosso's own interpretation of Pastore's philosophy, which in many respects was Weberian to its core. Giovanni Mastroianni has shown how Pastore developed a conception not far removed from Weber's ideal type, and Mosso displayed an epistemology very close indeed to methodological individualism.²⁴ Mosso was neither a holist nor a positivist. In his first article on Taylorism, which in fact was a response to the polemic between anarchists and socialists raging in *L'Ordine Nuovo* during the summer and autumn of 1919, Mosso argued that neither a solipsistic individualism nor Marxism could adequately describe reality. There did not exist a 'sistema universale' ('universal system'), but for Mosso, sounding very much like Croce or Weber, Marxism's weakness was its tendency to exalt the importance of economic determinants above all other facets of human life. Mosso differentiated between valid natural laws of economy on the one hand, and the non-existent universal laws of Marxist economics on the other. Outside our own egos, Mosso argued, there is no real system of reality. Reality he concluded, 'is life; and it is this that we must reconstruct'.²⁵

Economic laws did not directly affect human consciousness. This of course is what Gramsci seemed to be saying in his Gentilean 'The Revolution against Capital'; and perhaps in 1917-18 Gramsci might have endorsed Mosso's ontology yet expressed reservations about his politics. For Mosso, Marxism had as its basis the labour theory of value from which the laws of capitalist economics were deduced. He noted how the laws of capitalist economics have spread throughout the world, but also Marx generalized about the future, by predicting the concentration of capital and the falling rate of profit. However, outside these statements Marxism, according to Mosso, could not venture. It could not colonize 'the facts of consciousness, freedom and will, all excluded from Marx's system'.²⁶ As Mosso notes, human beings entered into Marx's *Capital* in as much as they personified a social class, but Marx could not explain how humans make decisions or how they acquired class consciousness. Science (fact) and ideology (value) were unbridgeable.²⁷

Mosso argued that an open-minded anarcho-communism would assure freedom for the individual. Neither supra-individual class consciousness, the laws of economic motion or the state could guarantee freedom for each individual or be invoked to explain reality. For the anarchists, Mosso continued, the only real unity is 'man'.²⁸

To sum up, Mosso was neither a positivist nor a Marxist, and it is

worthwhile pondering why Gramsci never replied to Mosso's criticism of Marxism but continued to underline the importance of his contribution to *L'Ordine Nuovo*.

His prefatory philosophical remarks concluded, Mosso went on in his second article to explain how Taylor's system of scientific organization arose. Mosso was attracted to Taylor's approach because it entailed using the experimental system to deduce how work would be both less tiring and more productive. As a utopian Taylorite Mosso emphasized the non-coercive aspects of the system. The American's system depended upon the good will of the worker in order to implement a rationalization of production.

The scientific organization of work was reduced to four principles. Firstly, scientific methods would be substituted for haphazard factory organization. Secondly, great effort would be expended on the specialization and training of factory workers. Thirdly, each worker would be monitored so that the degree of difficulty of each task could be scientifically established. Finally, there would have to be a clear-cut division of responsibility between management and the workers, with each individual given a competent assignment.

In his third article Mosso examined the capitalist context of Taylorism. He admitted that up to now the system of scientific management presupposed capitalist social relationships. Taylor had little understanding or sympathy for the labour movement. Nevertheless, Mosso believed that the scientific kernel of Taylorism might be detached from its capitalist context.²⁹

In his fourth article Mosso transferred his interest from the capitalist-owner of a firm to its managers. For Mosso, his form of Taylorism would cement a productivist alliance first obvious during the technicians' strike of the spring of 1919. This form of productivism also relied upon the disappearance of the protectionist and speculative bourgeois state. Mosso agreed that only in a system of post-scarcity communism would Taylorism assume its real significance, but he also said that even in the Italy of 1919 well-fed producers rather than desperate and underpaid workers would be more likely candidates to usher in the great transformation.³⁰ Like Gramsci, Mosso believed that self-discipline learned in industry created the most favourable human material for the construction of his 'future city'.

The emergence of the factory council movement presented Mosso with an opportunity to implement his value-free version of Taylorism. 'The producer ceased to be a machine and became an aware and conscious element of production', he wrote. With the formation of the workers'

councils the traditional process of production has been overthrown. The productivist nature of the councils, relying upon the harmonious merging of the will and consciousness of the producers, would transcend the 'regimented' image of communism based on a 'static social order'.³¹

While Mosso believed that the Russian soviet system might be limited to specific climatic, geographical and demographic conditions, he insisted that the factory council was a universal phenomenon. Based upon a close association with the productive process, it relied upon the initiative of the rank and file, upon their control of their representatives through revocable mandates and through a differentiation of functions in the factory guaranteed by the 'natural' division of labour. Such a division of labour could only function if communism generated a solidaristic psychology favourable to scientific production.

Mosso envisaged future units of technicians attached to workers councils. These specialists would be elected by the workers themselves. Secondly, unlike Taylor's engineers, they would not establish unfair and individualist piece-rates; rather each engineer would determine the 'standard task' that must eliminate piece-work. Piece-work was the negation of communism because it combines 'wage slavery with the most narrow-minded individualism'.³² The 'standard task' was an assimilation of Taylor's concept of the 'standard' to the requirements of the communist system of workers' councils. Technicians would therefore be extremely important in Mosso's proposed system of factory councils. They would monitor the appropriation of primary materials needed for products; they would determine technical and clerical practices and they would introduce new scientific methods of work; finally, they would assist in determining both the quantity and quality of work on the shop floor. Although Mosso explained that the technicians' units would agree upon these major decisions with workers' representatives, he did assume that the division between manual and mental labour would persist for a long time. How, indeed, would manual producers nurture a communist consciousness if technical and manual jobs were still so clearly delineated in a society of self-managed councils?

Mosso's answer in his final article demonstrates the close kinship of his ideas to Gramsci's. The limitations of a producers' psychology are remedied by the introduction of what Kropotkin and Ferrer termed 'integral education'. Although Gramsci never relied upon the Russian anarchist or the Catalan educationalist to reinforce his own form of 'integral' education, apparently Proletcult, with its own acknowledged debts to both Italian and French syndicalist thought, served a similar purpose. Furthermore, Gramsci never repudiated the provenance of Mosso's integral education,

which was discussed in *L'Ordine Nuovo* just as Gramsci's School of Proletarian Culture was carrying out its first lectures.³³

Mosso admired a system of education that rendered 'the producer . . . aware and conscious of collective life'.³⁴ Admittedly the councils would have to coopt technicians and administrative personnel in the immediate post-revolutionary period, even to the extent of relying upon high salaries to attract them like the Russians. In the long term the producers would have to generate their own specialists. Gramsci had written a great deal about the weaknesses of the Italian educational system that produced parasites rather than producers. Similarly, Mosso recognized the need to change a system 'where one becomes neither citizens, producers, individuals, where the only faculty that develops is the evil tendency towards bureaucracy and paperwork'.³⁵

In his final article on Taylor Mosso sketched a system in which all Italians were compelled to attend school until a technical or gymnasium education was completed. Afterwards all graduates would become producers and enter an appropriate council. Even at work each council would create its own office in which humanist *and* specifically applied scientific studies would continue, whilst the teachers in these schools would take turns to be engaged in industry. The result would be an integral education and the erosion of the division of labour.

The producers' councils would include all of society in its purview. Politicians, bureaucrats, organizers, intellectuals and scientists would be members. Indeed, Mosso came perilously close to an authoritarian position when he argued that all *power* rested in the councils and that they 'no longer allow other organisations and other powers', except those freely devolved by the councils themselves.³⁷ Councils were in the end merely

Table 5.1 The Mosso Plan⁴⁵

Age	Type of School	Curriculum
7 to 15 years	Primary education	Elementary training, grammar, philology, mathematics and technology.
16 to 25 years	Attached to Councils	Integration of manual with intellectual labour; technical apprenticeship; applied mathematics.
16 to 25 years	Integral industrial education	Cultural integration; advanced mathematics; experimental sciences; preparation for university.

organs of transition to full anarchist communism, so even the anarchist Mosso recognized that constraint and coercion would remain after the revolutionary insurrection had been successfully completed.

The Reception of Productivism

It is difficult to determine to what extent Gramsci's or Mosso's productivism was endorsed by the majority of workers in the factory council movement, but it certainly did find support amongst leading cadres. Much scholarship has traced the development of a work ethic in the new industrial working class in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Italy.³⁸ It is a commonplace to assert that such a work ethic was equally widespread amongst the more visible supporters of the factory council movement. Such workers seemed enamoured of a 'religion of work', as the trade unionist Gino Castagno put it.³⁹ Passerini, the academic, has defined this more prosaically as 'work ideology'. Although perhaps too romantic to be accepted *in toto*, nevertheless it certainly reflected the ideas of some of Gramsci's closest collaborators in the working class. Passerini defines work ideology combining

the idea of work as moral and social duty, the pride of being a professional worker, with the social-democratic conception of continuity between work and political activity.⁴⁰

Work ideology included a refusal to carry out piece-work while stressing the importance of an individual's ability and honesty in forming the basis for self-regulation. A hierarchy based on merit and the virtue of labour itself was not questioned. Finally, and in contradiction to all of this, a sense of independence and initiative included older and anti-productive customs such as 'Saint Monday'. As Passerini argues, these values were not necessarily ones from which a collectivist or socialist movement might benefit. Gramsci's productivism sought to paper over the inherent tensions between skilled and unskilled workers, and ignore those aspects of work ideology that perpetuated pre-industrial indiscipline and tendencies towards class collaboration or even cross class camaraderie.⁴¹

The productivist worker within the factory council movement might be socialist or anarchist. The socialist Enea Matta argued that the recently won eight-hour day would necessitate an increase in the intensity of production in order to assist in postwar reconstruction in capitalist Italy. Even in Italy Matta believed that workers rather than intellectuals should elaborate the systems of more efficient production.⁴² Hughes La Croix,

tailor and later technician, as well as organizer of the unsuccessful Technician's Union, described the long-established piece-rate system in practice in the tailoring trade for the readers of *L'Ordine Nuovo*. Over the past decades the trade had witnessed the emergence of larger cooperative workshops which had tended to replace homework and smaller shops. This had limited the capability of factors to force tailors to sign individual contracts based on piece rates. Hand-in-hand with cooperative production, La Croix noted the gradual emergence of the productivist tailor who replaced older habits of drinking and gambling with educational or 'rational' pastimes.⁴³ Maurizio Garino was the most interesting example of an anarchist who expressed work ideology. He was employed in a highly skilled and individualist trade and was positioned somewhere between the technician Mosso and less skilled shopfloor workers. Garino described the unique position of the modelmaker at the Itala plant before the war as being 'like a count or marquis', whose workshop proudly boasted the sign, 'temple of craft'.⁴⁴

In Garino's mind the productivist qualities of the council movement seemed to merge with the culture of Fiat itself. Quality control was just such an attribute that the councils inherited and improved upon.

The workshop commissar was interested in improving the objects of production in his workshop. Why? Because there was product testing. Before it went to the production line, my piece had to go through a test. So, the commissar would think: 'If I demonstrate to the management that the pieces we make are perfect, we would have more reason to claim improvements and respect.'⁴⁵

Like Gramsci, Garino wanted to demonstrate to the public that Fiat's workers were competent and productive enough to replace its capitalist owners. Equally, like Gramsci, Garino thought that the occupation of the factories had bequeathed to workers a stronger and more autonomous producers' consciousness.

How then did Garino judge Taylorism? Workers involved in the fabrication of tools or the models for moulds in Turin's engineering plants were not subject to time and motion studies until well into the 1920s. As Bruno Bezza notes, in the car manufacturing industry calibrators, tool machine inspectors and modelmakers composed a category in which craftsmanship found protection. Nevertheless in his old age Garino was forthright in his condemnation of Taylorism as he had seen it applied through the Bedaux system in Italy in the 1930s, or as he understood the methods of Soviet Stakhanovism.⁴⁶ But his attachment to the machinery of the technologically advanced factory sometimes blinded him to its more exploitative aspects.

As an anarchist he may have been opposed to the resultant deadening of the workers' personality due to application of scientific management, but as a 'producer' he celebrated industrial progress.

The gap between the productivism of a Gramsci, Mosso or even a Garino and its acceptance by the bulk of the metalworkers of Turin, was quite formidable. Productivists seemed to be arguing that technological change was neutral. So that Musso notes that Mosso's type of Taylorism, with its 'standard task' replacing the piece-rate, was a contradiction in terms.⁴⁷ As we have already seen, the major disputes in Fiat from the autumn of 1919 to the spring of 1920 were centred on the problem of how to apply piece-rates. If Taylorism meant anything to managers at Fiat in this context, it surely indicated a more efficient method of applying piece- and time-rates.⁴⁸

In any case, the coalition of worker productivists was limited to certain transient conditions. An interesting report in *L'Ordine Nuovo* (22 May 1921) recalled the occupation of the factories of the previous September, explaining how a struggle between skilled and unskilled workers became so acute that it opened the door to police intervention.⁴⁹ Similar sentiments were echoed by anarchists recalling the decline of militancy after September, when they described the rupture of the coalition of newly recruited peasant workers and veteran unionized workers, even before the mass sackings of the spring of 1921 brought these tensions clearly to the surface. One anarchist argued that the power of this new working class lessened as many workers returned to their homes or went on to other jobs in the autumn of 1920.⁵⁰ Garino always contended that these new recruits were an important if volatile factor in the spread of the factory council movement. They rendered older trade union structures and methods obsolete, but he also added that the new working class was far from being a homogenous block. On the one hand, small groups of Vercellese and Biellese workers carried with them anarchist political traditions, however others from elsewhere in the mountainous regions of Piedmont or further afield in the Veneto, were either apolitical or associated with the Catholic social movement. Giuseppe Berta has claimed that the vanguard of the movement were made up younger and less inhibited workers, prepared to question older hierarchies and their parent's assumptions. Furthermore, Garino also recalled that there existed a good deal of tension between those 'peasant workers' with easy access to vegetables and fruits from their native villages and the longer-term urban workers caught up in the postwar inflationary surge, completely defenceless against the rise in the cost of living.⁵¹

The working class of Turin was therefore by no means unified through

the factory council movement. A close reading of *L'Ordine Nuovo* demonstrates that the *ordinovisti* were not oblivious to the differences which existed amongst their readers. Enea Matta wrote complaining about the unrestrained individualism displayed by many of his colleagues. Matta argued that workers behaved like entrepreneurs in the factory, using their intellectual and muscular skills to advance themselves. Particularly dangerous in his opinion was an educational hierarchy one found amongst manual workers (the very constituency on which Gramsci placed such high hopes) who apparently rejected productivist collectivism for personal gain. Workers with superior intellectual credentials could use their certificates to distance themselves from their less-educated workmates.⁵²

These divisions were placed into sharp relief by Maurizio Garino's behaviour during the modelmakers' strike of February to April 1919. When collective bargaining threatened to place the modelmakers' formidable wage differentials in jeopardy, Garino's egalitarianism began to unravel. The strike was touched-off by the February accords that lowered the maximum wages the modelmakers could earn so as to narrow the wage differentials of all metal and engineering workers. As Garino recalls:

The leaders of FIOM said 'we must carry out the agreement even if it is true that it impinges a little on your wages, we have increased the wages of the lowest'. In principle they were not in the least wrong, but we felt hurt. We modelmakers must never bow our heads in front of an imposition!⁵³

The modelmakers' strike is not the only uncertainty in the testimony of the anarchist Garino. It is strange that even though Garino worked for most of this period in a small cooperative, Fiat is at the centre of his story. He admired the great factories, like the Lingotto plant, then under construction, where one weekend a fellow anarchist gave him a guided tour. For Garino the new technology and the layout of Lingotto were attractive even while he had decided to leave such surroundings to work in a small shop.⁵⁴

Other evidence also discredits the monolithic image of the metalworkers. Upward social mobility for skilled workers was a real possibility in Turin. A longitudinal, ecological study of the life stories of several generations of immigrants to Turin in the first half of the twentieth century documents this process interestingly.⁵⁵ Bigazzi has also stressed that within the car industry social mobility could be especially swift. Workers could become foremen fairly quickly and those who left the factory might, like Garino, be quite successful in small repair or manufacturing workshops. Furthermore, at least until the middle or late 1920s, technological change

was mediated through negotiations with skilled workers.⁵⁶ The possibilities of social mobility, as well as technical collaboration with employers, meant that even radicals in the factory council movement displayed ambiguous feelings towards their own radical ideological position. Garino recalled that many managers in the engineering industry rose from the ranks. Camaraderie between workers, managers and even employers was particularly evident in less mechanized plants. Garino also recalled that several of Agnelli's engineers and managers were progressive and democratic, and later, openly anti-fascist. Agnelli, he continued, sponsored a paternalist vertical mobility within his empire. Former manual workers, with some experience at night school, could achieve very prominent positions indeed, and Garino bore no ill will towards them. Indeed, on the contrary, he was proud of their achievements. During a job at the half-completed Lingotto plant he recalled meeting the new manager, an ex-worker, who explained to him how its vertically integrated system operated. At this moment the future director of General Motors arrived on the scene and Garino took pleasure in this important American recognizing the talents of the former worker from Turin.⁵⁷

Even attitudes towards Agnelli were not as negative as one might think. Santhià recalls with pride that Agnelli was attracted to *L'Ordine Nuovo* and thought that Gramsci's articles must have been written by one of his engineers.⁵⁸ During the occupations Agnelli offered to turn his empire into a workers' cooperative. Although the plan was still in its first stages, he seemed to be offering workers either full control of Fiat or a very generous form of profit sharing. Perhaps Agnelli was demoralized by the occupations and Giolitti's proposed legislation on registering shares and legalizing some form of workers' control; perhaps he was merely calling the bluff of the radicals and simultaneously reinforcing the positions of socialist and trade union reformists. For Gramsci Giolitti's proposed workers' control law and Agnelli's suggested Fiat Cooperative were just further glaring examples of the dangerously corrupting influences of Italian clientelist capitalism. Gramsci's real cause for unease, however, may have been the nurturing of the affinities between workers and management. Garino, for instance, recalled that workshop commissars and management were not always at loggerheads. He noted that often there was smooth collaboration between the representative of the workshop and the foreman. For Gramsci's part, he realized that if Agnelli's proposed cooperative had been implemented, not only would the workers be dependent on capitalist financiers but their probable failure within a hostile capitalist environment could have discredited a socialist form of productivism and increased the prestige of capitalist working practices.⁵⁹ And these fears were heightened

when workers asked Agnelli to return to the firm at his mother's funeral shortly after the end of the occupation of the factories. The correspondent for *Umanità Nova* was scandalized by the behaviour of the 'revolutionary' workers of Turin.⁶⁰

The Class Basis of Anarchism

Many critics of Gramsci's *L'Ordine Nuovo* have used a class analysis to discredit his theories. First it is claimed that he underestimated the flexibility of Agnelli and other industrialists: they had not been turned into parasitic rentiers by the war economy.⁶¹ Second, the constituency who supported the factory council movement was said to be transitory. Accordingly, through rationalization, the skilled worker was being swept away by the mass worker.⁶² This idea, as we have seen, is fanciful as scientific management was thin on the ground. Garino argued that the mass redundancies at Fiat in 1921 can be ascribed to causes arising from the labour market and political blacklisting rather than rationalization.⁶³ A third and final objection was first advanced by anarchists such as Fabbri and Berneri, and later taken up by Aldo Garosci. Quite simply Gramsci anticipated the effects of industrialization in Italy before they were fully worked out. Until the 1950s Italy was an agrarian nation. Indeed, as is well known, pre-fascist socialism depended on its rural base. Put simply, there were not enough factories in Italy in 1919–20 to construct Gramsci's 'future city'.⁶⁴

Gramsci used a class analysis to discredit his anarchist and syndicalist opponents. The productivist city with a well-disciplined and revolutionary workforce was Turin.⁶⁵ Gramsci contrasted their health with the morbidity of the workers recruited into the USI.⁶⁶

we have stated that Turin is the forge of the communist revolution: because the working class of Turin is in the main proletarian, factory workers, revolutionaries of the type predicted by Karl Marx, not petty bourgeois revolutionaries, 48ers, types dear to the democrats and anarchism's muddlers. In this sense we have argued that the General Confederation of Labour is composed of masses of workers who are more 'revolutionary' than the masses organized by the *Unione Sindacale*: because the Confederation embraces the 'most revolutionary' workers of the vanguard, while the *Unione Sindacale* is a disorganized organization which is not successful at leaving the gelatinous and indistinct stage typical of the conception of the world of the petty bourgeoisie who have not become capitalists, typical of artisans and peasants who have not become proletarians.

Much of the reporting in *L'Ordine Nuovo* concerning areas outside of Turin sought to introduce sociological arguments to explain the popularity of anarchism, syndicalism or even their close relative, republicanism. Arturo Jacchia wrote about his native Romagna, where socialism was based on family loyalties that turned school children into republicans or socialists at a tender age. This was not the healthy Torinese socialism of the factory workshop but that of the café and piazza.⁶⁷ In 1920 Alfonso Leonetti explained the popularity of anarchism and syndicalism in Milan due to the political confusion engendered in workers' minds by the cowardice of the local maximalists. The socialists had lost contact with the masses and the local political vacuum was filled by anarchists and the USI. But Leonetti also argued that because the local urban ecology did not concentrate workers in large factories, this led to the prevalence of unskilled over skilled workers and a large population of criminals among whom the libertarians were supposed to flourish.⁶⁸

Leonetti's chief reasons for the persistence of anarchism and syndicalism in Milan; the political ineptitude of the socialists, the peculiarities of its urban layout and the class composition of the working class, were repeated in their own fashion when Togliatti and Viglione sent their famous report on Sestri Ponente. The Ligurian hinterland characterised by an endless array of shipyards, steel works, foundries and sugar refineries seemed proletarian enough. Politically it was renowned for the sectarianism of its left – reformists, maximalists and syndicalists – who competed for influence amongst the local populace. Furthermore, industry was of the wrong variety to inspire a healthy proletarian movement. Dominated by heavy industry with industrialists who depended on government influence peddling in order to maintain their sales through artificially high protective tariffs, these entrepreneurs had turned into speculators.

In short, in contrast to the healthy automobile industry of Turin, the heavy industry of Liguria was polluted with clientelism. Furthermore, the productivist worker was largely absent from the Ligurian factory because the skilled worker was in the minority. They claimed that at Sestri this meant that petty bourgeois indiscipline of peasant workers overwhelmed the disciplined politics of the skilled.⁶⁹

Naturally the anarchists responded to such sociology in a predictably forthright manner. Fabbri wrote in December 1919 asking how it was possible to use a class analysis to explain why workers in the same locality and same profession chose the syndicalists or the socialists.

L'Ordine Nuovo is unaware that the masses of the minority organized by the Unione Sindacale for some time are found in similar and equivalent

surroundings, often the same as that of the majority organized by the Confederation. Why is it that the metalworkers of Sestri Ponente must be considered backwards and less advanced than those of Sampierdarena? Why would the agricultural workers of the Piacentino be less advanced than those ... of the Parmense, of the Reggiano? Why is it that at Bologna the masons who are in the Old Syndicalist Chamber of Labour must be classified in another way to those who have passed over to the New Confederal Chamber of Labour? In what way do the miners of Carrara and the Val d'Arno, members of the Unione Sindacale, differ from miners elsewhere who are members of the Confederation?⁷⁰

Moreover, the anarchists did not accept as given the fact that workers in large industrial cities were by nature more advanced politically than those in smaller towns. The Austrian anarchist historian, Max Nettlau, had noted earlier that it was the smaller towns of central Italy that lay at the back of the Red Week, and during the *biennio rosso* Fabbri and Berneri repeatedly pointed to the revolutionary élan of artisanal Ancona and peasant Andria. Furthermore, historical research shows that the attractions to the USI were for mixed reasons not solely attributable to the class composition of a given workforce. Bigazzi has shown that the strength of the USI at Milan's Alfa-Romeo plants was due to the adept organization skills of *skilled* workers. They, unlike FIOM unionists, had been able to organize minors and women into their union during the war.⁷¹ While Rugafiori's history of Ansaldo has shown that Togliatti's and Viglongo's figures were incorrect. Togliatti and Viglongo had exaggerated the number of unskilled workers at the Meccanico (the basis of Togliatti's and Viglongo's data). Using Ansaldo's employment records Rugafiori demonstrated that the composition of the workforce remained unchanged between 1919 and 1933, whereas Togliatti and Viglongo claimed that only 25 per cent of the workers were skilled, in fact at least half were.⁷²

An equally important article of faith of the *ordinovisto* sociology is Gramsci's insistence at differentiating the anarchism of leaders and intellectuals from the anarchism of factory workers.⁷³ He was particularly venomous towards anarchist intellectuals who, he wrote, considered anarchism their own private intellectual property, their 'raison d'être for their particular activity, present and future'.⁷⁴ Borghi, Fabbri and Malatesta were repeatedly described as the entrepreneurs or charlatans of anarchist ideology. However, practical revolutionaries might also be anarchists; Mosso the technician was contrasted favourably to Quaglino the journalist.⁷⁵ Moreover, Garino and Ferrero were two fine and loyal workers. Their professionalism made their attachment to anarchism of little concern to Gramsci.⁷⁶

For Luigi Fabbri Gramsci's distinctions were artificial. If anarchism was not merely a working-class conception of politics, it was equally true to say that the Marxist dialectic was not inherently a proletarian creation, but had been brought forth by a small group of intellectuals 'who deceive themselves that with it they flank and interpret the workers' movement'. It was also curious 'that it is precisely the Marxists of *L'Ordine Nuovo* ... who make arbitrary distinctions between groups of anarchist workers and groups of anarchist intellectuals and professional ideologists'. Anarchism, Fabbri concluded, had always contained a relatively higher percentage of self-educated workers than socialism so it could be argued that the ideology of Italian Marxism had been created through a dictatorship of its intellectuals over less-educated manual workers.⁷⁷

Socialism as Science

The debate over the ideologies of anarchism and socialism in Gramsci's mind can be reduced to two separate problems: the degree to which anarchism is recognized as a distinct body of ideas and practice with its own autonomous history and the extent to which Marxism was a scientific socialism. Of all four founding members of *L'Ordine Nuovo* Angelo Tasca displayed the greatest interest and depth of knowledge concerning the history of other schools of socialism. It is thus fitting that the debate between the anarchists and the *ordinovisti* began over an historical controversy concerning the origins of May Day. Tasca claimed that May Day arose from socialist and trade union pressures, while Margarita argued that the anarchists had originated the holiday.⁷⁸

Tasca usually appeared to be the most consistently hostile towards their anarchists. As we have seen, in May 1920 he argued against the anarchists at the Chamber of Labour, he accused Gramsci of being an anarcho-syndicalist and he supported the trade union leaders' attacks on Gramsci's anarchist allies within the factory council movement. Nevertheless, it is ironic that Tasca adapted such an apparently anti-libertarian position during the *biennio rosso*. As a youth he had been deeply influenced by the syndicalist theories of Arturo Labriola and Enrico Leone. Furthermore, his search for an Italian tradition of working-class self government led him to the chamber of labour, which, as we have seen, had depended greatly on anarchist and syndicalist proponents (see Chapter One). He also expressed a deep sympathy for the utopian socialists, the *fasci operai*, the POI and other non-Marxist and libertarian-tinged alternatives to mainstream socialism. In *L'Ordine Nuovo* he published a series of articles on the utopian socialists. In old age Tasca recalled the debate in *L'Ordine*

Nuovo over the origins of May Day, and recognized his own intemperance towards the anarchists, now praising that element in Gramsci's thought which came closest to syndicalism.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, in 1919 Tasca could be as intolerant of the anarchists' ideas as Gramsci. Like Gramsci Tasca sought to disabuse the workers of the widespread idea that somehow anarchism was a purer and nobler form of socialism.⁸⁰ Anarchism lacked an organic conception of history 'because it lacked a philosophy of history'. For Tasca anarchism as an ideology was a confusing heterogeneous doctrine. On the one hand Proudhon and Bakunin had been Left Hegelians, on the other, Reclus and Kropotkin had been followers of Comte and Spencer. Anarchism, Tasca wrote, was at its weakest when it ignored historical development, but it was at its strongest in the absolutism of its moral values. So that even in 1919, with all his pedantry and prejudice, Tasca could allow the anarchists a role as moral gadfly rather than merely, as in Gramsci's eyes, tactical ally.

Nevertheless, we believe that anarchism has or can have a valuable and essential task for the revolution and history. All institutions have the fatal tendency to take on a life of their own, independently of the reasons why they were created. All forms tend to become fixed, rigid or they become pure and simple forms. Every revolutionary must possess a lively and critical spirit to accompany a practical one . . . The anarchist spirit is a moral disposition that guarantees the perpetuity of human activity from generation to generation. . . . Anarchy is not a system in opposition to socialism, but it could be defined as the moral conscience in which practical communist action must be organized.⁸¹

Gramsci adopted Tasca's gadfly imagery but emptied it of any positive content. For Gramsci anarchism was the subversive conception of any oppressed class before it became the ruling class. Freedom was not an eternal historical object for Gramsci, rather there were only bourgeois or proletarian conceptions of freedom, but for the bourgeoisie, freedom meant liberalism; for the workers, freedom was Marxist communism.⁸²

This surprising orthodox Marxist position adopted by Gramsci is a reflection of his scientific socialism. As we have seen, Gramsci constantly attacked positivist and evolutionary socialism. In similar fashion, anarchists like Malatesta and Fabbri attacked the positivism of Kropotkin. Furthermore, Fabbri extended this attack to include the Second and Third Internationals.⁸³ Unfortunately Fabbri's articles were rather predictable. Of greater interest were Berneri's who was closer to Gramsci's mindset. However, for our purpose the most acute critic was Pietro Mosso. Gramsci's personal and ideological ties made his criticism of the Sardinian's 'critical communism' all the more sharper.

As I have explained, Mosso's methodological approach to Marxism was close to Weber's. Therefore he never intended to compare what he thought to be the economic system of Marxism to the system of moral philosophy that was anarchism. To compare the author of *Capital* with Stirner, Bakunin, Tolstoy and Tucker, was pointless. In fact anarchism, according to Mosso, is a value system that will only become dominant in a communist society. The difference between anarchists and Marxists could be found in the latter's tendency to allow economics to colonize questions of morality and ethics. For Mosso anarchism was neither a liberal anti-statist political philosophy nor supportive of statist collectivism. In anarcho-communism Mosso found his *via media*.⁸⁴ Attempts to situate Italian communism in Marxism were misleading because much of Italian socialism derived from Bakuninism, whereas Marxism was restricted to a small group of intellectuals. Indeed, he felt that many maximalists exhibited the most deplorable ignorance of what was meant by Marxism. Mosso drew the attention of both Gramsci and Tasca to the ideological filiations between anarchism and Marxism. Did not Marx and Bakunin share a common grounding in Feuerbach? Nor did Mosso accept the validity of Tasca's criticism of the heterogeneity of anarchism.

Kropotkin and Bakunin could be placed within the same broad school, and in any case Mosso did not accept the need for a holistic system; indeed Bakunin's major contribution was his insistence that every system of thought was never complete, thereby adding vitality to the battle of ideas. For Mosso natural laws were a series of approximations that could not be equated with the metaphysics of the dialectical method. Each science required its particular laws to explain the phenomena it sought to understand. Unlike Marxists, including his friend the unorthodox Gramsci, Mosso could not embrace what he thought a nebulous law of dialectics to explain the laws of historical development. He could never accept this law of laws, which presented itself as the final arbiter of what was superstitious and what was scientific.⁸⁵

Jacobinism and Anti-Jacobinism

Gramsci's response to the angry letter published by Garino and Ferrero in *Umanità Nova* during their disputes in the summer of 1920 clearly spelt out his endorsement of the state (see above, p. 166). In it he wrote that anyone who maintained a workers' state was not necessary to carry out the revolution corresponded on the political level to a charlatan offering a potion of barley water to a victim of typhus.⁸⁶ However, while Gramsci's views might appear transparent, this begs the question as to what type of

state he had in mind. To what extent did his neo-idealist and productivist politics clash with the realities of the Bolshevik state? What did Gramsci mean by the dictatorship of the proletariat? How did his interpretation of revolutionary movements in Western Europe as well as the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia affect his own conceptualization of the state? Since these perceptions evolved during the period 1917–1920, so too did Gramsci's arguments with libertarians about the role of the state, albeit his unorthodox but Marxist position never allowed him to dispense with the notions of coercion, the state or the dictatorship of the proletariat altogether.

In this section of Chapter Five I will employ two themes to illustrate the evolution of Gramsci's (and his associates') positions on the role of the state. First, Gramsci's notion of Jacobinism changes drastically from the war years to late 1920. Jacobinism is a key conceptual benchmark, which indicates how Gramsci's politics became more authoritarian. Second, just as an anti-Jacobin revolution is replaced by its opposite, so too does Gramsci's evaluation of Russian events reinforce this authoritarianism. On the one hand, Gramsci appropriated various heterodox examples and thinkers from European and North American revolutionary movements to reinforce his anti-Jacobinical council communism; while on the other hand, various conflicting Russian and Polish sources pushed him in a Leninist direction. By the autumn of 1920, with the defeat of the factory council movement, and the need for supporters of the Soviet Republic to endorse the Comintern's *Twenty-one Points*, Gramsci discarded most of his youthful anti-Jacobinism, even if he always remained a rather heterodox Leninist communist.

Even a rather casual reading of Gramsci's early writings reveals contradictions in his anti-Jacobinism; and these contradictions become greater as more information about the politics within the Bolshevik Russia became available to him. In any case, the term was not first used in the context of Russian politics; rather, anti-Jacobinism defined the cultural behaviour patterns exhibited by Latin intellectuals. He transferred Sorel's, Croce's or Salvemini's criticisms of middle-class anti-clerical and/or republican demagogues to another context.

As we have seen, the notion of free thought was used to criticize liberal and anarchists 'Masonic' intellectuals, but Gramsci adopted Sorel's and Croce's criticisms of the behaviour of the French Jacobins towards the peasantry. Historically, Jacobinism represented the coercion of the peasantry by the undemocratic and centralizing state. Taking his cue from Salvemini's work, Gramsci identified in the bureaucracy of Piedmont, especially in its Jacobinical methods adopted against southern and insular

peasants, policies that undermined the cohesion and legitimacy of the post-*Risorgimento* state. Thus, to the extent that both Crispi, in his policies, and his anarchists enemies, in their state of mind, shared abstract notions of right and wrong they seemed more of a problem than a solution to the crisis of the 1890s. 'Jacobinism', Gramsci wrote in 1918 in a furious attack upon a former hero of anti-Jacobinism

is a messianic vision of history: it always responds in abstractions, evil, good, oppression, liberty, light, shade, which exist absolutely, generically and not in historical forms. Jacobin messianism is completed by cultural messianism, which is represented in Italy by Gaetano Salvemini and has given birth to idealist movements like that of *La Voce* in the past and *L'Unità* at the present time. Even cultural messianism abstracts from the concrete forms of economic and political life, and proposed an absolute outside time and space ... and ends up being utopian.⁸⁷

This definition, however, was not merely employed to delineate his opposition to the democratic liberals on the right of the socialists. During the 1918–20 period, a perjorative usage of 'Jacobinism' was deployed to demonstrate what the Russian Revolution and domestic factory council movement were not. However, this meant stretching reality to suit particularly difficult facts then emerging from Russia. For instance, Gramsci did not condemn the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by the Bolsheviks because he agreed with Lenin's justification that the Constituent Assembly's electorate had not faithfully reflected the enormous changes in Russia that had occurred since the spring of 1917. According to Gramsci, a dissolution of this democratically elected body was not Jacobinical because the system of soviets represented the real and future majority in Russian society.⁸⁸

Glaring contradictions of this sort can be found peppered in his writings throughout the *biennio rosso*. Even as late as 4 September 1920, Gramsci published an article extolling the virtues of a Jacobinical Communist Party, yet the following day he seemed to return to his older theme of anti-Jacobinical councilism, failing to mention the role of the Party at all.⁸⁹ However, by the end of September, when the occupation of the factories seemed set for defeat and the various factions of the PSI were preparing themselves for fratricidal conflict at Livorno, Gramsci displayed a ferocious Jacobinism, perhaps further inflamed by the publication of the *Twenty-one Points*:

a revolutionary movement can only be based on the proletarian vanguard, and must be led without prior consultation, without the apparatus of representative assemblies. Revolution is like war, it must be minutely prepared by a

working-class staff, just as a war is prepared by the Army's general staff. Assemblies will only ratify what has already taken place, exalt the successful and implacably punish the unsuccessful. It is the task of the proletarian vanguard to keep the revolutionary spirit constantly awake in the masses, to create the conditions which keep them ready for action, in which the proletariat, will respond immediately to the call for revolution.⁹⁰

Before the *Twenty-one Points*, for Gramsci the Russian Revolution was a realization of idealist philosophy. In one early article he related a newspaper report of how the common criminal inmates of a Russian jail remained imprisoned even after their jailers had fled. For Gramsci this was an example of the incorporation of the Kantian categorical imperative within the spirit of the Russian Revolution during the spring of 1917. Later, after the October Revolution, he published a moral dialogue on the limitations of individual freedom and the necessity for each individual to consider the effect of his action on the collectivity.⁹¹ In a more theoretical vein, in June 1919 he described the liberal state in which 'every citizen is a gladiator, who sees in others enemies to strike down or submit to his interests'. The higher ties of love and solidarity are dissolved and replaced by 'competition', the 'practical foundation of all human society', the citizen becomes a 'restless and disjointed individual' who is adrift from any social moorings. In Soviet Russia the individualistic bases of the law and the state had been replaced by a collectivist categorical imperative. Thus, the 'citizen' is replaced by 'the comrade', social isolation is replaced by organization. The new order limits the older baleful effects of 'freedom'. The domination of the capitalists in the workshop is 'limited'. 'The worker conquers some effective freedom. It is no longer one against all.'⁹²

This collectivist but rather libertarian interpretation of the Bolshevik revolution seems hard to reconcile with classical Leninism. I shall now turn to the vexed question of how much Gramsci knew of Lenin's political thought before the second half of 1920. Two points should be stressed: firstly, at least until late 1920, he welcomed any news from Russia that indicated that non-Bolshevik parties, such as the anarchists or the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, were prepared to support the new regime; and secondly, a clear emphasis by Gramsci on the absolute monopoly of the Communist Party only occurred in late 1920 or even early 1921.⁹³

The first fragment of Lenin's work that Gramsci knew was his letter written to another Bolshevik, G. I. Safarov in 1916 and published in *Il Grido del Popolo* as 'Il Vero Pensiero di Lenin' ('The True Thought of Lenin') (25 August 1917/1 September 1917). Later in 1918 he published fragments of Lenin's speeches.⁹⁴ None of these three articles emphasized

the exclusive role of a vanguard party. In fact, as we have seen, Gramsci was greatly attracted to Lenin's more libertarian-inclined comrades within the Bolshevik Party itself.

Theoretically, one can contrast the councilist Lenin of *The State and Revolution* with the openly Jacobin Lenin of *What is to be Done?* When did Gramsci know these texts and how did he interpret each? Gramsci first became acquainted with *What is to be Done?* through the commentary of Charles Rappoport. Rappoport was a Russian Jew who had lived in France since 1890. Originally a friend and supporter of Cernov and the Socialist Revolutionaries, he supported the Zimmerwald movement during the war and was close to the *Vie Ouvrière* group. Although he was always something of a maverick, he in fact joined the French Communist Party and remained a member until his friend Bukharin was executed in the Great Purges.⁹⁵

Gramsci published several articles by Rappoport in *Il Grido del Popolo* in 1918. Here Rappoport reported on the divisions within French socialism and contributed an interesting portrait of Plekhanov, which had been published in a Swiss newspaper.⁹⁶ Later, Rappoport hinted at the 'Jacobin' Lenin in an article published in *L'Ordine Nuovo*, where he stressed the need for enlightened elite to lead the passive majority through to a successful revolution.⁹⁷ In January 1920 Rappoport reported directly on *What is to be Done?*⁹⁸ Although Leonardo Paggi and Alastair Davidson claim that Gramsci downgraded the importance of the text, nevertheless Rappoport gave Lenin's ideas a clean bill of health.⁹⁹ Lenin's pamphlet, Rappoport explains, was a brilliant attack on reformism, which was the first text to contain all the tactics later to be associated with Lenin's name. The argument of *What is to be Done?*, Rappoport explained to his Italian readers, was aimed at combating Bernstein's reformism and revolutionary syndicalism. A revolution needed, he added, 'rivoluzionari qualificati' ('skilled revolutionaries'), namely groups of men who only live for the revolution'. Rappoport also recalled his first encounter with Lenin in Paris during the early 1900s. For Rappoport, Lenin was the first orthodox Marxist he had met who unreservedly endorsed the necessity for insurrection without being afraid of being denounced as a Blanquist. Also, interestingly, Rappoport mentioned in Italy for the first time, Lenin's prewar attacks on Lunarcharsky and Bogdanov, even supplying a précis of *Empirocriticism* to his readers.

In his own way Gramsci adapted some of Rappoport's report on Lenin's thought. On 20 December 1919, commenting on a letter sent by Lenin to Serrati, Gramsci noted that Lenin emphasized the importance of professional revolutionaries, or as he put it, 'rivoluzionari qualificati', which of

course resonated with his productivist ideology. 'Skilled' revolutionaries were likened to the skilled workers of the factory council movement, therefore, 'revolutionaries must know the 'machine' of the revolution', and this required 'responsible men' not merely 'agitators'. However, the 'Gramscian' professional revolutionary was not a scientific socialist in the sense that he raised economic industrial consciousness to the level of revolutionary Marxism. Rather the 'rivoluzionario qualificato' helped coordinate the system of councils. The Italian working class, like the working classes worldwide, he added, 'have understood that the 'machine' of the revolution is the system of councils'.¹⁰⁰ However, by June 1920 the full importance of *What is to be Done?* seemed evident when Zinoviev's account of Lenin's life was published by *L'Ordine Nuovo*.¹⁰¹ Zinoviev described Lenin's text as 'the bible of the movement'. In October 1920 Rappoport returned to the same subject.¹⁰² By now Gramsci used a more authoritarian interpretation as ammunition in his bitter quarrel with Serrati and the maximalists.

Knowledge of *The State and Revolution* was not widespread in Italy until the summer of 1920, and Gramsci himself probably did not know of it until late in the spring. The Austrian expatriate, Franz Weiss, as well as the syndicalist socialist Enrico Leone, insisted on its theoretical import in *Avanti!* in the summer and pointed to the soviet as an institution that could reconcile anarchists and socialists, while Gramsci and Togliatti translated it from French and published it in July.¹⁰³ Togliatti and Gramsci had wanted to translate *The State and Revolution* as *The State and Liberty*, which gave it a much greater Hegelian flavour, emphasizing how the state helped to develop greater freedom in civil society. Indeed, in an article entitled 'Stato e libertà', Togliatti noted that Lenin's work demonstrated how a socialist state, based on a system of councils, could transcend both anarchist utopias and the contemporary liberal state. Conquering state power, rather than abolishing the state form completely, would in fact guarantee the freedom of autonomous industrial organization.¹⁰⁴

Clearly the messages received from *What is to be Done?* and *The State and Revolution* did not present a coherent account of Leninism, but such contradictory attitudes of Gramsci and the *ordinovisti* towards the key Leninist texts merely reflected their uncertainties about what in fact was happening in Russia. Although many Russians lived in exile in Italy before the war, and Lenin had been known through articles in Mussolini's *Avanti!* in 1913, in 1917 the Socialist Revolutionary, Suchomlin ('Junior') had become Serrati's chief Russian correspondent on *Avanti!*¹⁰⁵ Naturally a Socialist Revolutionary rather than Bolshevik interpretation of the Russian revolution was offered to readers. For example, on 28 July 1917, Cernov,

rather than Lenin, was described by Gramsci as the leader of the radicals in Russia, although Lenin was considered an important pathfinder in the revolutionary process.¹⁰⁶ Even in his famous 'The Revolution against Capital', published in December 1917, Gramsci incorporated Socialist Revolutionary criticisms of orthodox Marxism. Later Gramsci would recall with bitterness how Serrati's contact had misled him for several months.¹⁰⁷

A more important influence on Gramsci was Aaron Wizner, the Russo-Polish follower of Rosa Luxemburg who later became a Comintern agent. He lived in Italy from 1913 to 1924 and worked in Genoa and Turin as a technician, for the most part for Fiat. Under the pseudonyms 'Es-Dek' and 'Murzyn' he published a series of articles in the Torinese socialist press. He also collected and translated for Gramsci documents on Polish affairs and the Russian Revolution. His most important articles were 'L'opera di Lenin' ('Lenin's Work') (14 September 1918, *Il Grido del Popolo*) and 'La Costituzione Sovietica' ('The Soviet Constitution') (24 May 1919, *L'Ordine Nuovo*), both previously credited to Gramsci, but even earlier he translated an article from *Pravda* on the state of the Russian army in September 1917, in which Gramsci admitted that the Bolsheviks were the major force behind the disintegration of this former pillar of Tsarist power.¹⁰⁸

Wizner's interventions in Gramsci's discussion groups helped Gramsci develop many of the major ideas of *L'Ordine Nuovo*. Wizner's 'Lenin's Work' was published after Fanya Kaplan's unsuccessful attempt on Lenin's life. His anti-Jacobinism was similar to Gramsci's since Wizner argued that Kaplan had behaved like a Jacobinical fanatic. Lenin was no Napoleon; rather he was 'the trustee of the Russian proletariat: he was first amongst equals'.¹⁰⁹

Wizner's influence on Gramsci was matched by the interventions of several other Russians and Poles within the Italian socialist movement during the *biennio rosso*. Indeed, by the spring of 1920 an open debate developed between two factions of Comintern agents in Italy. One group supported Serrati, while the other supported the *ordinovisti*. In as much as the pro-Serrati group stressed the supremacy of the party over the soviet or factory council, Bordiga endorsed their stand. For his part, Lenin, appreciated Bombacci's ties with Prime Minister Nitti and others in government as a means to at least reestablish commercial relations with Italy, although privately Lenin called him a 'bearded imbecile'. In 1919, and up to the summer of 1920, Bombacci and Serrati flaunted their ties with Lenin and the Russians to score points against each other. So the early Comintern was used to settle personal scores by the two leading Italian maximalists.¹¹⁰

This curious debate demonstrates that at least until 1921 the Comintern did not have a master plan for dealing with the Italian left. It also reveals the extent present of a rough and ready pluralism of opinions that existed within the Russian dominated international organization at least in this first phase of development. Nor for that matter did Gramsci support unconditionally everything which emanated from Soviet Russia. Although he endorsed the October insurrection, the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and Lenin's dictatorship, he nevertheless recognized that there were serious differences amongst the Bolshevik leaders themselves. For instance, he was aware at the time that Left Communists opposed the Brest-Litvsk treaty, even if he confused Trotsky's pro-Leninist position with Bukharin's opposition to the agreement. In early 1919 Gramsci criticized Chicherin's attempts at opening up negotiations with the West on the island of Prinkipo because it appeared that the Soviet negotiator gave too many concessions to foreign capitalists. Even though he recognized that, as a state, Soviet Russia had to carry out diplomatic negotiations, he nevertheless was not prepared at this time to endorse policies that would later be associated with Lenin's normalization of foreign relations and the NEP.¹¹¹

The debate between 'Torinesi' and 'Milanesi' Comintern agents centred on the issue of what was meant by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Torinese group included Wizner but also Jerzy Henryng (who signed his articles as 'Ryng'), a Polish engineer who had lived in Italy since 1905. As a close friend of Morgari he had helped organize demonstrations during the prewar visit of the Tsar to Italy and later interpreted the speeches of the Soviet delegation during their appearances in Turin in 1917. While Henryng translated many of the first fragments of Lenin's writings to reach Italy in late 1917 and early 1918, he gave Gramsci and Serrati the distinct impression that the quarrels between the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries were less serious than they were in reality. Henryng, like 'Junior', supported an alliance of Socialist Revolutionaries and Bolsheviks, and this, as we have seen, was evident in much of Gramsci's writings during this period.¹¹²

The other supporters of Gramsci's position were three Bolsheviks who arrived directly from the civil-war-torn Ukraine in 1919. They were Vladimir Aleksankrovic Degot, Sofia Ivanovna (Elena) Sokolovskaia and Daniel Riedel. They had worked clandestinely in the Ukraine in 1918, and with the French syndicalist Marcel Brody, had sought to disaffect French sailors and marines based in the Crimea.¹¹³

One of the most important contributions this group of Russians and Poles gave to *L'Ordine Nuovo* was undoubtedly financial. Their donation

in early 1920 probably kept the journal afloat, and Gramsci acknowledged it in the last issue of January.¹¹⁴ Although this group distrusted Serrati as an unreliable careerist, by early 1920 he had found his own backer, Nicolai Markovic Ljubarsky ('Carlo Niccolini'). Ljubarsky started to contribute to *Avanti!* in 1918 and in 1919. He published biographies of Lenin and Trotsky, underlining the importance of the latter for the development of the Russian Revolution in 1917.¹¹⁵ In the autumn of 1919, using money supplied by the Comintern, he started a theoretical journal in Milan, *Comunismo*. Although Serrati was officially the editor, in fact Ljubarsky controlled editorial policy. Not only did *Comunismo* reprint much valuable information on the Bolsheviks; it also became the chief opposition to the *ordinovisti* by associating their heresy with syndicalism. In an article published in December 1919, Ljubarsky noted that Russian factory councils had been short-sighted, egotistical and undisciplined institutions that required the guidance of the soviets and the central government in order to run and reconstruct a badly damaged industrial system. He also asserted, with the full enthusiastic support of Serrati, that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the conscious dictatorship of the Socialist Party.¹¹⁶

While Bordiga, from his own peculiar position, was pleased that the Russian Bolsheviks endorsed his ideas, Gramsci, supported by his own Comintern agents, claimed that 'Niccolini' was mistaken,¹¹⁷ although Tasca could not resist mocking Gramsci over this incident: 'also Comrade Niccolini has been "failed" by Gramsci on the theory and practice of the Third International'.¹¹⁸ Riedel intervened in print in May and in support of Gramsci. The tensions between Riedel and 'Niccolini' had been growing for some time. In April while Riedel sought to support the Piedmont general strike by attempting unsuccessfully to create a military section within the local PSI branch in Turin, 'Niccolini' supported Serrati's shunning of these 'syndicalist adventurers'.¹¹⁹

Gramsci's 'Bolsheviks' stressed the Lenin of the *April Theses* and *The State and Revolution*. In the same spirit, Gramsci's article 'The Party and Revolution' directly responded to Serrati's and Niccolini's contention that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the conscious dictatorship of the socialist party.

The Party remains the leading apparatus within this irresistible mass movement, and exercises the most effective of dictatorships, a dictatorship based on prestige, on the conscious and spontaneous acceptance of an authority that workers see as indispensable if their mission is to be accomplished. It would be disastrous if a sectarian conception of the Party's role to the revolution were to prompt the claim that this apparatus had actually assumed a concrete form, that the system for controlling the masses in movement had been frozen

in mechanical forms of immediate power, forcing the revolutionary process into the forms of the Party. The result would be to divert successfully a number of men, to 'master' history; but the real revolutionary process would slip from the control and influence of the party, which would unconsciously become an organ of conservatism.¹²⁰

Ironically, just as 'Nicolini' and Gramsci were arguing about the relative merits of party, soviet and factory council, most politically autonomous organizations in Russia were no longer functioning. Reformists in the CGL were not slow in pointing to the unreality of Gramsci's claims about the power of industrial self-organization in Russia. In the summer of 1920 Bianchi reported from Petrograd that the factory councils had long since vanished. 'The discourses', he continued, 'that a group of young intellectuals carry out about the factory councils and their theoretical and historical functions . . . [are] by now superseded by Russian experiences'.¹²¹ One of Gramsci's fiercest local opponents, Guarnieri, interviewed a supporter of Kollontai's Workers' Opposition at the International Metalworkers Federation congress in Copenhagen in July 1920 where he also candidly admitted that the factory councils had become mere appendages of the trade unions.¹²² Furthermore, the downfall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was attributed in large part by Gramsci to the government's inability to control the independent and syndicalist inclinations of the Hungarian trade unions. Indeed, this example was used by Gramsci to draw a distinction between the egotism of old-fashioned syndicalism and the altruism of councilism, but it was also eventually employed to justify the creation of politically inspired communist groups, established to organize at the shop floor and thereby short-circuit the autonomy of industry self-organization, that fundamental principle of the factory council movement itself.¹²³

Conclusion: Anarchists and *Ordinovisti*: The State and the Individual

At first the Russian revolution brought anarchists and maximalist socialists closer together. A councilist or sovietist interpretation of the Bolshevik revolution seemed to be a confirmation of the decentralized and direct action methods of the anarchists and syndicalists. However, boundaries between libertarian socialism and Marxist socialism were quickly reestablished. Much of the debate between the *ordinovisti* and the libertarians over the necessity of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat followed predictable patterns. Organizationalist anarchists such as Corrado

Quaglino, Luigi Fabbri and Errico Malatesta emphasized the need for a free association of self-governing bodies to replace the state. They agreed that, in order for a revolutionary transformation to occur revolutionaries would have to make sure that production and distribution remained undisturbed. Furthermore, they also recognized that some form of organized coercion was required. For their part, Togliatti and Gramsci could recognize the dangers of an authoritarian degeneration of the revolution. Togliatti even sounded very much like Malatesta. Thus, concluding the debate with Pietro Mosso over the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the revolution, Togliatti wrote that it 'must not be a personal dictatorship, but one of a class, and that we agree with him, indeed this is one of the dangers that runs through the proletarian movement'.¹²⁴ While Gramsci wrote during a polemic with Garino and Ferrero in August 1920 that

The Factory Councils in Turin were a 'libertarian' creation by the working class; they obey their own inner laws of development and, in so far as they represent the historical expression of forces and desires existing in the factory working class, they are vital and alive. Marxist communists do not believe in historical creation through administrative or legislative means. The workers' State is the Committee of Public Safety of the proletarian revolution. For the working class, it represents the guarantee that they will be able to work towards the construction of their city.¹²⁵

It was in this tolerant spirit that Gramsci discussed Lenin and his dictatorship with Maurizio Garino. Garino expressed his own position at the congress of the Chamber of Labour in May 1920 and at the UAI congress in July. He called for a society of factory councils in which the dictatorship of the party *or* that of politically controlled soviets would find no place.¹²⁶ Gramsci of course never endorsed his anarchist position, and Garino recalled that Gramsci's hegemony of producers also meant a dictatorship of a party.¹²⁷ He particularly remembered one crucial conversation with Gramsci about the fate of the anarchists under the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his tiny office, Gramsci explained to him patiently that the dictatorship of the proletariat was not like any other dictatorship, like the personal dictatorship of Napoleon, but the realization of class consciousness and the seizure of power to prevent the bourgeoisie from undermining the revolutionary process. Therefore when the working class conquered power 'one was no longer dealing with a true and proper dictatorship' but the seizure of the levers of power to realize socialism. Then Garino explained his position:

Naturally I, from the anarchist viewpoint, denied all of this. I said: 'About all the rest I can agree with you dear Gramsci, but on this point no. Even collective dictatorships little by little can transform themselves into dictatorships of groups of men and therefore restrict freedom'. And to give my reasoning greater incisiveness I added: 'If tomorrow in Italy a dictatorship is established, call it what you want, the first to be shot will be us because we are against the political State ...'

Gramsci didn't let me finish. He got to his feet in a shot and put his hands through his hair and said: 'No, no, don't say this Garino, it will never be like that, it is not possible, you are completely off the track!' We departed, as usual, good friends, but each of us kept our own opinion.¹²⁸

For his part, Pietro Mosso was always suspicious of the Hegelian framework of Gramsci's 'critical communism', not least when the discussion turned to the state. Mosso shared Gramsci's and Togliatti's suspicions of state socialism. In an article in *Umanità Nova* he denounced the CGL's support for the nationalization of the electrical industry. Like Gramsci and Togliatti he used similar arguments against nationalization, stressing the dangers of the Italian clientelist state.¹²⁹ In a review of the Belgian reformist socialist Emile Vandervelde's *Le socialisme contre l'état* Mosso reminded the readers of *L'Ordine Nuovo* not to confuse the tendencies towards cartelization and nationalization spurred on by the war with socialism.¹³⁰ However, Mosso distrusted certain ideas then current in *L'Ordine Nuovo* itself. Cesare Scassaro's blueprints for the Italian Red Army published in *L'Ordine Nuovo* seemed very authoritarian in spirit, while Togliatti's praise of Gentile signalled a disturbing state worship amongst the *ordinovisti*. Mosso did not accept that 'the state' had a 'moral personality' external to the individual or groups of individuals or that the state was the necessary source of truth and law.¹³¹

Mosso therefore opposed the *ordinovisti*'s leftwing Hegelianism. Marx, he wrote, had turned Hegel on his head, but his socialist friends seemed to want to put him on his feet again. The dependence upon a harmony between the state and the councils was considered a dangerous addiction. For this most thoughtful of anarchists freedom was realized through the creative tensions found between individual and collective needs.¹³² James Joll has written that anarchists found themselves caught between their two strong traditions of voluntary communism and individual autonomy. Mosso, perhaps, more than most, felt this contradiction keenly.¹³³ For Mosso the post-revolutionary society would neither be an organism nor an all-embracing state, but rather a dynamic collection of autonomous individuals. The difficult task for the anarchists was to restrain anti-social and unrealistic tendencies amongst their own followers. Mosso looked

forward to a social order in which individuals would not be sacrificed to abstractions, to a society based on solidarity whose realization would not crush individuals who subscribed to it, but enhance their socially grounded individuality.¹³⁴

Notes

1. C. Maier, 'Between Taylorism and Technocracy', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1970, pp. 50–1.
2. D. Bigazzi, 'Management Strategies in the Italian Car Industry 1906–1925: Fiat and Alfa Romeo', in S. Tolliday and J. Zeitlin (eds), *The Automobile Industry and its Workers. Between Fordism and Flexibility*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 87–8; S. Musso, *La gestione della forza lavoro sotto il fascismo*, Milan, 1987, pp. 82–4; P.R. Willson, *The Clockwork Factory. Woman and Work in Fascist Italy*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 35–49; A. Dewerpe, 'The Lost Paradigm: An Italian Metalworking Empire Between Competing Models of Production, 1900–1920', in C. F. Sabel and J. Zeitlin (eds), *Worlds of Possibilities. Flexibility and Mass Production in Western Industrialization*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 273–309. Anson Rabinbach sums up the question of the actual application of Taylorism in Europe versus its effects on intellectual discourse: 'the debate about the Taylor system was in many ways more important than the extent of its application', see *The Human Motor. Energy, Fatigue and the Orgins of Modernity*, New York, 1990, p. 240.
3. G. Maione, *Il biennio rosso. Autonomia e spontaneità operaia nel 1919–1920*, Bologna, 1975, pp. 7–19; S. Musso, *Gli operai di Torino 1900–1920*, Milan, 1980, pp. 191–2.
4. M. Eastman, 'Un statista dell'Ordine Nuovo', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 1 May 1919, p. 1; 15 May 1919, p. 11; 24 May 1919, p. 22; 7 June 1919, p. 33.
5. C. Levy, 'Antonio Gramsci', *Selections from Cultural Writings*, edited by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, translated by William Boelhower, London 1985, *History of European Ideas*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1988, pp. 75–6. For Russians in Italy, see A. Tamborra, *Esuli russi in Italia dal 1905 al 1917*, Bari, 1977, pp. 114, 153; C. Read, *Religion, Revolution and the Russian Intelligentsia 1900–1912*, London, 1979; R. C. Williams, 'Collective Immortality: The Syndicalist Origins of

- Proletarian Culture, 1905–1910', *Slavic Review*, vol. 39, 1980, pp. 396, 399–400. The debate about Taylorism carried on in the prewar *Vie Ouvrière* was known by Gramsci. Of particular importance was the role of pro-Taylorite anarchists such as Jule Ravet  , see N. Papayanis, *Alphonse Merrheim. The Emergence of Reformism in Revolutionary Syndicalism 1871–1925*, Dordrecht, 1985, p. 68; G. Cross, *A Quest for Time. The Reduction of Work in Britain and France, 1840–1940*, Berkeley, 1989, pp. 110–11; K. Tucker Jr, *French Revolutionary Syndicalism and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 168–82.
6. A. Leonetti, *Note sul Gramsci*, Urbino, 1970, p. 43; U. Carpi, 'Sovversivismo antiborghese e borghesi sovversivi: appunti sull'ideologia del primo futurismo', *Lavoro Critico*, no. 25, 1982, pp. 5–38; G. Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics. Between Anarchist Rebellion and Fascist Reaction, 1909–1944*, Providence, 1996, pp. 180–96.
 7. M. Battini, 'Note su Gramsci nel 1918–1920', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1978, pp. 365–6; M. Tel  , 'Strategia consigliare e sviluppo capitalistico in Gramsci', *Problemi del Socialismo*, vol. VII, 1976, pp. 221–44; F. Dubla, *Gramsci e la fabbrica: produzione, tecnica e organizzazione del lavoro nel pensiero gramsciano*, Manduria, 1986; D. Schecter, *Gramsci and the Theory of Industrial Democracy*, Aldershot, 1991, pp. 97–8, 143. For an attempt to link the productivism of European socialism and communism to anarchism, see M. Seidman, *Workers Against Work: Labor in Paris and Barcelona During the Popular Fronts*, Berkeley, 1991.
 8. For Berneri, see F. Madrid Santos, *Camillo Berneri, un anarchico italiano (1897–1937). Rivoluzione and controrivoluzione in Europa (1917–1937)*, Pistoia, 1985. Berneri's critique of productivism anticipates the scholarly work of Michael Seidman, see *Workers*, pp. 46–7, 130–1, 169–71, 311. For other comments on Gramsci's productivism, see P. C. Masini, *Antonio Gramsci e l'Ordine Nuovo vista da un libertario*, Milan, 1956, pp. 13–14; P. Spriano, *L'Ordine nuovo e i consigli di fabbrica*, Turin, 1971, pp. 64–5; Maione, *Il biennio rosso*, pp. 10–11, 14–15, 39, 45–6, 107–8, 294–9; E. Rutigliano, 'The Ideology of Labor and Capitalist Rationality in Gramsci', *Telos*, no. 31, 1977, pp. 91–9; F. Adler, 'Factory Councils, Gramsci and the Industrialists', *Telos*, no. 31, 1977, pp. 71, 78–9, 85–7; R. Martinelli, *Il Partito Comunista d'Italia 1921–1926*, Rome, 1977, pp. 64, 86–7; L. Passerini, 'Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 8, 1979, pp. 93–5; F. De Felice, 'Revolution and Production', in A. Showstack-Sassoon (ed.), *Approaches to Gramsci*, London, 1982, pp. 197–8; C. Ottaviano, 'La disciplina come utopia',

- in F. Sbarberi (ed.), *Teoria politica and società industriale. Ripensare Gramsci*, Turin, 1988, pp. 198–208.
9. C. Berneri, *L'operaiolatria*, Brest, 1934, p. 9.
 10. See the list of articles on above, p. 143. In the late nineteenth century in Turin, the educational reformer Angelo Mosso invented the ergograph to measure fatigue during labour. Unlike Taylor's system it was never applied to the shop floor. As far as I know, Angelo Mosso was not related to Pietro Mosso. On Angelo Mosso's influence on the 'European Science of Work', see Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*, pp. 133–42.
 11. See AC [A. Carena] 'Gli impiegati di fabbrica', 9 August 1919; G. D. 'Impiegati e operai nelle commissioni interne', 25 October 1919, p. 181; V. Barbiera, 'Posta dell'Ordine Nuovo', 6–13 December 1919, p. 232; P. Borghi, 'Tecnici e commissario di reparto', 3 January 1920, p. 254; M. Stragiotti, 'Gli uffici tecnici nei consigli di fabbrica', 7 February 1920, p. 280; H. La Croy, 'Per un maggiore accordo tra amministrativi, tecnici e operai', 14 February 1920, p. 291; P. Borghi, 'Discussion sui Consigli di fabbrica come strumento tecnico della produzione', 28 February–6 March 1920, p. 307; V. Barbera, 'Tecnici e operai nei consigli gestione diretta', 13 March 1920, p. 316; P. Borghi, 'Per una cooperativa di industria', 20 March 1920, p. 329; P. Borghi, 'Operai e capi', 3–10 April 1920, p. 342; G. Casale, 'Evoluzione e rivoluzione della classe impregatistica', 15 May 1920, p. 11; *ibid.*, 'La Terza Internazionale e gli impiegati', 29 May 1920, p. 20; M. Stragiotti, 'Posta dell'Ordine Nuovo', 28 August 1920, p. 112; P. Borghi, 'Gli insegnamenti della lotta dei metallurgici', 9 October 1920, p. 133; M. Stragiotti, 'Gli insegnamenti della lotta dei metallurgici: rilevi pratici', 16–23 October 1920, p. 142; P. Borghi, 'Gli insegnamenti del settembre', 24 December 1920, p. 179. The foreign contributions of interest are A. Lunacharsky, 'L'istruzione professionale nella Russia dei Soviet', P. Hamp, 'Tecnica e rivoluzione', 20 November 1920, pp. 155, 156.
 12. See, P. Spriano (ed.), *La cultura italiana del 1900 attraverso le riviste, volume sesto. L'Ordine Nuovo (1919–1920)*, Turin, 1963, 221.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 453. For the role of white-collar workers in the prewar PSI see, M. Degli'Innocenti, 'Il farsi popolo degli impiegati', in M. Degli'Innocenti, *Geografia e istituzioni del socialismo italiano 1892–1914*, Naples, 1983, pp. 169–73. For similar situation in Milan to that of Turin in 1919–1920, see M. Soresina, *Mezzemaniche e signorine. Gli impiegati privati a Milan (1880–1939)*, Milan, 1994, pp. 158–78.

14. 'Carlo Petri' (Pietro Mosso), 'Borghesia e produzione in regime comunista', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 7 June 1919, p. 36.
15. E. Malatesta, *Pagine di lotta quotidiana. Scritti. Vol. 1, Umanità Nova 1920/22*, Carrara, 1975, pp. 33, 51–2, 85–6.
16. V. Mantovani, *Mazurka blu. La strage del Diana*, Milan, 1979, pp. 105–6, 113–17. For the connections between Gramsci's concept of hegemony and Malatesta's conception of anarchism, see P. Nursey-Bray, 'Malatesta and the anarchist revolution', *Anarchist Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1995, pp. 34–5, 41–3.
17. E. Molinari, *I fattori economici per il successo della rivoluzione sociale*, Milan, 1920.
18. Battini, 'Note su Gramsci', pp. 363–4.
19. C. Levy, 'Max Weber and Antonio Gramsci', in W. Mommsen and J. Osterhammel (eds), *Max Weber and his Contemporaries*, London, 1987, pp. 390–2.
20. P. Rossi, 'Antonio Gramsci sulla scienza moderna', *Critica Marxista*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1970, pp. 41–60.
21. Mario Missiroli, 'Il socialismo control la scienza', p.t. [Palmiro Togliatti], 'Postilla', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 9 July 1919, pp. 77, 78, in , Spriano, *La cultura italiana*, pp. 193–9.
22. J. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought*, Oxford, 1981, p. 111.
23. H. S. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, Brighton, 1981 edition, pp. 92, 173; L. Paggi, 'Gramsci's general theory of Marxism', in C. Mouffe, (ed.), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London, 1979, p. 148; U. Cerroni, 'Universalità & politica', in Ferri, pp. 127–60; B. De Giovanni, 'Libertà individuale e uomo collettivo in Antonio Gramsci', in *ibid.*, p. 224.
24. G. Mastroianni, *Vico e la rivoluzione. Gramsci e il diamat*, Pisa, 1979, pp. 21–2, 93–100, and especially 101–15. I have drawn attention to the similarities and parallels between Gramsci and Weber, see Levy, 'Max Weber'. Also see Robert Bocoock who draws attention to the relationship between Gramscian hegemony and Weber's social science, *Hegemony*, Chicester, 1986, pp. 83–102.
25. Carlo Petri (Pietro Mosso), *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 25 October 1919, p. 178.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Carlo Petri [Pietro Mosso], 'Il sistema Taylor e i consigli dei produttori. Il sistema Taylor e l'organizzazine scientifica del lavoro', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 1 November 1919, p. 188.
29. *Ibid.*, 'Il sistema Taylor e i consigli dei produttori. Esame di alcuni

- concetti del taylorismo', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 8 November 1919, p. 197.
30. *Ibid.*, 'Il sistema Taylor e consigli dei produttori. L'organizzazione dei Consigli', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 15 November 1919, p. 205.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, 'Il sistema Taylor e i consiglio dei produttori. La scuola', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 22 November 1919, pp. 209–10. On Proletcult see above fn. 5. Also see J. Scherrer, 'Bogdanov e Lenin: il bolscevismo al bivio', E. Hobsbawm (ed.), *Storia del marxismo*, Turin, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 495–546. For the effects of Proletcult and Bogdanov on Gramsci, see C. Reichers, *Antonio Gramsci. Il marxismo in Italia*, Naples, 1975, p. 61; H. Entwistle, *Antonio Gramsci. Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics*, London, 1979, pp. 140–1; C. Bermiani, 'Letteratura e vita nazionale. Le "osservazioni" sul folklore', in A. Agazzi, S. Merli, R. Guastini, A. Mangano, R. Levvero, E. Agazzi, C. Pavone, A. Tomioli, C. Bermiani, S. Studer and R. Luperini, *Gramsci un'eredità contrastata*, Milan, 1979, pp. 94–103; Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, p. 556–8. In many ways Pietro Mosso's programme was similar to the European Science of Work rather than Taylor. The European Science of Work school shared Mosso's quest for improving job satisfaction rather than Taylor's single-minded quest to raise productivity. See, Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*, p. 222.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 209–10.
38. M. Berra, *L'etica del lavoro nella cultura italiana dall'unità a Giolitti*, Milan, 1981.
39. V. Castronovo, *Giovanni Agnelli. La Fiat dal 1899 al 1945*, Turin, 1977 ed., pp. 114–15; S. Musso, 'Political Tensions and Labour Union Struggle: Working Class Conflicts in Turin during and after the First World War', in L. Haimson and G. Sapelli (eds), *Strikes, Social Conflict and the First World War, Annali della Biblioteca G. G. Feltrinelli*, 1991, p. 237; R. Bellamy and D. Schecter, *Gramsci and the Italian State*, Manchester, 1993, pp. 39–43.
40. Passerini, 'Work ideology', 1979, p. 93.
41. *Ibid.* p. 95. For self regulation, see D. Bigazzi, 'Management Strategies', 1986, p. 80; P. Audenino, 'La cultura socialista: Una nuova sistema di valori', in V. Castronovo (ed.), *La cassetta degli strumenti. Ideologie e modelli sociali nell'industrialismo italiano*, Milan, 1986, pp. 115–68.

42. Enea Matta, 'Vita operaia. Psicologia da proprietari', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 31 May 1919, in Spriano, *La cultura italiana*, p. 137.
43. H. La Croy (Hughes La Croix), 'Vita operaia. Il cottimista sarto', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 18 October 1919, in Spriano, *La cultura italiana*, pp. 317-18.
44. R. Armeni and P. Piva, *Noi vivremo del lavoro*, Rome, 1980, p. 31.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
46. B. Bezza, 'Social Characteristics, Attitudes, and Patterns of Strike Behavior of the Metalworkers in Italy during the First World War' in L.H. Haimson and C. Tilly (eds), *Strikes, Wars and Revolutions in an International Perspective. Strike Waves in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 409; Armeni and Piva, *Noi Vivremo*, pp. 33, 46.
47. Musso, *Gli operai*, 1980, p. 212; S. Musso, 'Operai, cultura del lavoro nell' *Ordine Nuovo*', in F. Sbarberi, *Teoria*, p. 180.
48. Maione, *Il biennio rosso*, pp. 10-11, 14.
49. Bigazzi, 'Management Strategies', p. 81. For review of the literature which point to the heterogeneity of the shop floor and the working-class neighbourhoods of Turin, see S. Musso, 'Torino e il movimento operaio torinese. Il dibattito storiografico', in M. Antonioli, M. Bergamaschi and L. Ganapini (eds), *Milano operaia dall' 800 a oggi*, vol. 2, Milan, 1994, pp. 234-7.
50. Enne, 'Le lotte metallurgici torinesi', *Umanità Nova*, 26 July 1921 (interview with an anarchist activist).
51. G. Berta, 'The Interregnum: Turin, Fiat and Industrial Conflict between War and Fascism' in C. Wrigley (ed.), *Challenges of Labour. Central and Western Europe 1917-1920*, London, 1993, p. 121; Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 112.
52. Spriano, *La cultura*, p. 138.
53. Armeni and Piva, *Noi vivremo*, p. 35.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-6.
55. See M. Gribaudo, *Mondo operaio e mito operaio*, Turin, 1987; Berta, 'The Interregnum', p. 159; Mosso, 'Torino', p. 242.
56. Bigazzi, 'Management Strategies', p. 80; F. Adler, *Italian Industrialists from Liberalism to Fascism*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 144, 196.
57. Armeni and Piva, *Noi vivremo*, p. 36.
58. M. Paulesu Quercioli (ed.), *Gramsci vivo nelle testimonianze dei suoi contemporanei*, Milan, 1977, p. 96.
59. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 170-1, 79-84. For Garino, see Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 101. For his part, with the workers' rejection of the proposal of a cooperative, Agnelli could emphasize his role as

- a 'captain of industry', indispensable to the organization of Fiat. See, Adler, *Italian Industrialists*, pp. 235–6. During the height of the occupations Fiat had shifted its shares from Turin to its sister company in the USA because Agnelli feared that the cooperative might lead to the outright confiscation of his wealth. See, G. Berta, 'La cooperazione impossibile: La Fiat, Torino e il "biennio rosso"', in G. Berta (ed.), *Fiat 1899–1930. Storia e Documenti*, Milan, 1991, pp. 232–36.
60. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 184. For *Umanità Nova*'s response see 9 November 1920, p. 2.
61. Adler, *Italian Industrialists*, 201–2.
62. This theme was adopted by Maione and Rutigliano from Sergio Bologna, see 'Class composition and the theory of the party at the origin of the workers councils movement', *Telos*, vol. 13, 1972, pp. 57–83.
63. Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', p. 145.
64. Berneri, *L'Operaiolatria*; A. Garosci, *Pensiero politico e storiografia moderna*, Pisa, 1954, p. 201; Gramsci: 'His ideal was really a country without a "superstructure"'.
65. A. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo 1919–1920* (edited by Valentino Gerratana and Antonio A. Santucci), Turin, 1987, p. 387.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
67. Spriano, *La cultura*, pp. 349–53.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 459.
69. Palmiro Togliatti and Andrea Viglono, 'Rapporto sui fatti di Sestri', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 13 March 1920, p. 317.
70. *Volontà*, 16 Dec. 1919, p. 1.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 3; D. Bigazzi, *Il Portello. Operai, tecnici e imprenditori all'Alfa-Romeo 1900–1922*, Milan, 1989, pp. 235–44.
72. P. Rugafori, *Uomini macchine capitale. L'Ansaldo durante il fascismo 1922/1945*, Milan, 1981, pp. 89–90. Faggi responded to Togliatti, claiming he was misrepresented, see *Lotta Operaia*, 16 May 1920, p. 2.
73. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, pp. 438–9, 441; Schecter, *Gramsci*, p. 94.
74. A. Gramsci, *Selections from Political Writings 1910–1920* (selected and edited by Quintin Hoare, translated by John Matthews), London, 1977, p. 187, Italian original, Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, p. 489.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 645.
77. *Volontà*, 16 May 1920, pp. 3–4. For De Bartolomeis, see *Volontà*, 16 December 1919, p. 6.
78. Spriano, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, pp. 56–7.

79. Tasca, *Nascita e avvento del fascismo*, Florence, 1950, p. xxviii; 'Fantasio' (Angelo Tasca), 'Luigi Blanc e l'organizzazione del lavoro', pt. I, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 1 May 1919, p. 5; 'Dopo la Comune', 24 May 1919, p. 17; 'Luigi Blanc e l'organizzazione del lavoro', pt. II, 31 May 1919, p. 271; pt. III, 2 August 1919, p. 41. Also see, E. Fournière, 'Una schema di stato socialista', 14 June 1920, p. 45; 26 July 1919, p. 85.
80. A.T. (Angelo Tasca), 'Socialismo e anarchica', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, p. 221.
81. *Ibid.*
82. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, p. 489.
83. L. Fabbri, *Anarchia e comunismo 'scientifico'*, Milan, 1922.
84. 'Comunismo anarchico', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 26 July 1919, p. 86.
85. 'Comunismo anarchico e comunismo critico', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 3–10 April 1920, p. 346. For Gramsci's conception of superstition, see A. Cirese, 'Gramsci's Observations on Folklore', in Showstack Sassoon, *Approaches*, pp. 212–47.
86. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, pp. 643–4.
87. For the English translation, see A. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci: Towards an Intellectual Biography*, London, 1977, pp. 98–9; the original is in A. Gramsci, *Il nostro Marx: 1918–1919*, (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Turin, 1984, p. 149. For Gramsci's changing interpretation of the French Revolution, see I. Tognarini, 'Giacobinismo e bolscevismo: Albert Mathiez e "L'Ordine Nuovo"', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 6, 1976, pp. 523–49; P. Ginsborg, 'Gramsci and the Era of Bourgeois Revolutions in Italy', in J. A. Davis (ed.), *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution*, London, 1979, pp. 54–5, who notes how Gramsci exaggerated the importance of the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution. For the review of Gramsci's anti-Jacobinism and Jacobinism, and the relationship of these themes to the influence of Sorel upon Gramsci, see H. Portelli, 'Jacobinisme et antijacobinisme de Gramsci', *Dialectiques*, nos 4–5, 1974, pp. 28–43; L. Paggi, *Antonio Gramsci e il moderno principe*, Rome, 1970, pp. 10–12; F. Bracco, 'Il giovane Gramsci e Sorel', in V. Comparato (ed.), *Georges Sorel. Studi e ricerche*, Florence, 1974, pp. 177–95; G. B. Furiozzi, *Sorel e l'Italia*, Florence/Messina, 1976, pp. 337–8; S. Onufrio, *Sorel e il marxismo*, Urbino, 1979, pp. 324–5; M. Malatesta, 'Gramsci e il sindacalismo rivoluzionario. Riflessioni sul rapporto tra analisi storiografica e giudizio di valore', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1981, pp. 336–43; D. Schecter, 'Two Views of the Revolution: Gramsci and Sorel, 1916–1920', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 12, no. 5, 1990, pp. 637–53.

88. For Gramsci's position on the Russian Revolution and Lenin see M. L. Salvadori, *Gramsci e il problema storico della democrazia*, Turin, 1970, pp. 8–9, 93–5. On the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, see A. Gramsci, *La città futura: 1917–1918* (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Turin, 1982, pp. 602–3. For his first statement on the Russian Revolution as an anti-Jacobinical revolution, see Gramsci, *La città*, pp. 138–41.
89. Femia, *Gramsci's*, p. 146.
90. Gramsci, *Selections*, p. 349; in Italian original, Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, p. 688.
91. Gramsci, *La città*, pp. 240–1; 529–33. On the 'Kantian' Gramsci, see A. Guerra, 'Storicismo ed etica libertaria nel giovane Gramsci', in P. Rossi (ed.), *Gramsci e la cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, Rome, 1969, pp. 126–46.
92. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, pp. 49–50.
93. *Il Grido del Popolo*, 16 February 1918.
94. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 83–4; A. Gramsci, *Scritti 1915–1921* (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Milan, 1976, pp. 365–5; *Il Grido del Popolo*, 16 March 1918, p. 1; 22 June 1918, p. 1; 29 June 1918, p. 2; 6 July 1918, p. 1.
95. S. Caprioglio, 'Scritti sul fascismo di Antonio Gramsci', *Il Corpo*, vol. 1, 1965, pp. 219, 221.
96. 13 July, 15 July and 7 September 1918.
97. 'Ciò che Marx non ha potuto prevedere', 6–13 Dec. 1919, p. 231.
98. 'Come conobbe Lenin', 10 January 1920, p. 263.
99. Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 164; Paggi, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 303.
100. A. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, p. 363.
101. 12 June 1920, p. 35.
102. 'Il Bolscevismo', 9 October 1920, pp. 134–5.
103. For Leone, see *Avanti!*, 28 July 1920, p. 1. For Weiss, see *Avanti!*, 28 July 1920, p. 4.
104. *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 10 July 1920, p. 65.
105. A. Venturi, *Rivoluzionari russi in Italia 1917–1921*, Milan, 1979, pp. 13–77, 176.
106. Gramsci, *La città futura*, pp. 265–7.
107. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, p. 696.
108. Gramsci, *Il nostro Marx*, p. 353.
109. Gramsci, *Scritti*, p. 391.
110. Venturi, *Rivoluzionari*, pp. 196–258; S. Noiret, *Massimalismo e crisi dello stato liberale. Nicola Bombacci (1879–1924)*, Milan, 1991, pp. 374–7.

111. Gramsci, *Il nostro Marx*, pp. 52–5; pp. 527–9.
112. Venturi, *Rivoluzionari*, pp. 99–100, 211; Gramsci, *Il nostro Marx*, p. 530.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
114. 24–31 January 1920, p. 273; Venturi, *Rivoluzionari*, p. 218.
115. Venturi, *Rivoluzionari*, pp. 200–1, 205.
116. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, p. 125.
117. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, pp. 493–7.
118. Spriano, *La cultura italiana*, p. 539.
119. For Riedel, see D. R., 'La lotta impegnata', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 8 May 1920, p. 4; Venturi, *Rivoluzionari*, pp. 231–3.
120. Gramsci, *Selections*, p. 144, in Italian original, Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, p. 370; Venturi, *Rivoluzionari*, pp. 208–9.
121. *Avanti!*, 8 June 1920, p. 1; A. Venturi, 'Tra propaganda sovietica e immaginario socialista. Le impressioni italiane del viaggio in Russia dell'estate 1920', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1985, pp. 363–91; G. Petracchi, 'Il mito della rivoluzione sovietica in Italia 1917–1920', *Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 21, no. 6, 1990, pp. 1107–30.
122. *Avanti!*, 29 July 1920, p. 1; Venturi, *Rivoluzionari*, p. 209; Adler, *Italian Industrialists*, pp. 205–6.
123. Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, pp. 168–9.
124. p. t., 'La battaglia delle idee. Per chiudere una polemica', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 2 August 1919, p. 94. For general surveys of attitudes of the Italian anarchists towards the Bolshevik revolution see, P. C. Masini, 'Gli anarchici italiani e la rivoluzione russa', *Rivista Storica del Socialismo*, nos 15–16, 1962, pp. 135–69; S. Fedele, *Una breve illusione. Gli anarchici italiani e la Russia Sovietica 1917–1939*, Milan, 1996, pp. 39–42; 80–2.
125. Gramsci, *Selections*, p. 324, in original Italian, Gramsci, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, pp. 644–5.
126. For Garino's statement at Bologna, see *Umanità Nova*, 1 July 1920, pp. 2–3; 6 July 1920, p. 2.
127. Paulesu Quercioli, *Gramsci vivo*, p. 68.
128. *Ibid.*, pp. 68–9.
129. 'Insidie', *Umanità Nova*, 1 April 1920, p. 3.
130. 21 June 1919, pp. 53–4.
131. 'Comunismo anarchico', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 26 July 1919, p. 86; Mastrianni, *Vico*, p. 109.
132. 'Comunismo anarchico e comunismo critico', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 3–10 April 1920, p. 346. For Gramsci's Gentilean, 'harmonious' socialism,

- see F. Sbarberi, *Gramsci: un socialismo armonico*, Milan, 1986; D. Schecter, 'Gramsci, Gentile and the Ethical State in Italy', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1990, pp. 491–501.
133. J. Joll, 'Anarchism between Communism and Individualism', in Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, *Anarchismo e anarchia nel mondo contemporanea*, Turin, 1971, p. 274.
134. 'La libertà anarchica', *Volontà*, 1 April 1920, pp. 3–4.

Conclusion

I will not cover the interesting and dramatic inter-war years in detail. However, a summary is necessary in order to explain the fate of the historical actors of the *biennio rosso*.

Nationally, the occupation of the factories in September 1920 clarified the situation. The libertarians were unable to lead this defensive movement, which was steered by reformist trade union leadership. At most, the anarchists could have created a *fait accompli* in Liguria by seizing government offices or launching some sort of insurrection which might have forced the hand of the maximalist socialists. In the event Maurizio Garino convinced them to await the decision of the estates general of Milan, at which the USI and UAI had no voting rights whatsoever.¹

On 17 September 1920 an extraordinary national congress of Fiom opened. At this congress Ferrero ruled out the transformation of an industrial dispute into a revolution without national political leadership. In order for the occupations to be satisfactorily concluded he demanded that workers be paid for days on strike, that striking clerical and technical staff be assured protection from reprisals by their employers and that Fiom oppose Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti's proposed workers' control legislation.² Garino seemed particularly bitter about the decision by the directorate of the PSI on 11 September to allow the CGL to pursue an economic settlement of the dispute. At the Fiom congress he explained that the movement should have been taken further by the politicians to a 'revolutionary act'. He continued by observing that the CGL and the PSI had punctured all hopes, and the workers had not understood the full impact of the decision and continued to arm themselves. If the movement was restricted to the factories, he felt it would result in very little.³

In October 1920, after the factories were evacuated, Giolitti arrested the entire leadership of the USI and UAI. The socialists did not respond, disoriented by the first successful attacks by the fascists in Bologna and Ferrara, distracted by internal doctrinal disputes that foreshadowed the emergence of the Communist Party in January 1921, the socialists more-or-less ignored the persecution of the libertarians until the spring of 1921

when the aged Malatesta and other imprisoned anarchists mounted a hunger strike from their cells in Milan. However, an anarchist bombing of a crowded theatre, which had been intended for the offices of the *questore* next door, severely weakened the campaign to free Malatesta, Borghi, Qualglini and comrades, just as it received significant support from an unlikely coalition ranging from Gramsci to Mussolini. In the event, Milanese fascists took advantage of the situation and sacked the offices of *Umanità Nova*, although it soldiered on until the March on Rome from offices in that city.⁴

The anarchists played important roles in the *Arditi del Popolo* in 1921. This grass roots paramilitary anti-fascist coalition organized by veterans and political militants stretching from 'first-hour' fascists and D'Annunzian legionnaires to republicans, socialists and communists, was particularly successful in central Italy where the traditions of libertarian 'subversivism' were the strongest, but the sectarianism of the communists, the timidity of the socialists and the instability of its leadership weakened the efforts of the *Arditi del Popolo*.⁵ Finally, in a last desperate gamble, the anarchist-led railwaymen helped organize the more bureaucratic Labour Alliance in 1922. This lacked coordination and came too late. The reformists in the CGL were deeply suspicious of communist participation; the SFI itself was torn apart by competing socialist, communist and syndicalist factions. Its anarchist 'generals' were left without an army. The anarchists and syndicalists were caught in the crossfire between socialists and communists on the one hand, and physical assaults by fascists on the other.⁶

For Malatesta and other leading anarchists the real confrontation with the communists came from mid-1921 onwards, especially after the Kronstadt revolt and a first hand account of the repression of Makhno's peasant- and other urban-based anarchist movements given by the Italian anarchist, Ugo Fedeli. At the UAI Congress of November 1921 the Italian anarchists formally denounced the Soviet regime – Gramsci roasted Borghi, Fabbri and Malatesta in response to the congressional resolution. Upon Lenin's death Malatesta could only declare that his passing should be celebrated as a holiday rather than commemorated in mourning. Fabbri took a less harsh line than Malatesta when assessing Lenin's life. He still believed that Lenin had been a socialist and acknowledged him as a man of the left, even if he had destroyed the Russian Revolution through his dictatorial methods. Fabbri, like Ugo Fedeli and Camillo Berneri, detected the emergence of a 'New Class' of 'NEP' men, commissarocrats and former workers lording it over the bedraggled Soviet population. Like many on the left they did not predict the untold mass murder that Stalin would inflict on

the population within a decade; rather they feared a restoration of a form of dictatorial capitalism.⁷

Between 1921 and 1926 the anarchist rank and file were driven out of the factories and forced into poverty and exile. The anarchists probably suffered greater violence in proportion to their numbers than other political opponents of fascism.⁸ Simultaneously, the USI collapsed as fascist squads, rivalries with a communist faction, disputes with electoralists, and the peculiarities of Armando Borghi, all took their toll. Borghi left the secretaryship of the USI in 1922. The USI staggered on until 1925, with a brief revival during the Matteotti crisis of 1924, but was then outlawed by the régime.⁹

During the Matteotti crisis of 1924, and in 1925, Malatesta and other anarchists maintained important contacts with Italia Libera, a non-communist anti-fascist organization of veterans.¹⁰ In the last few months before Mussolini suppressed all opposition, the anarchists Gino Lucetti and Anteo Zamboni each tried to assassinate him. Zamboni was lynched by an enraged mob in Bologna on 31 October 1926. In November, using his attempt as a pretext, Mussolini destroyed the final vestiges of the liberal state.¹¹ Anarchists were driven into exile, placed on the penal islands or, if too famous like Malatesta, placed under a species of house arrest. However, Mussolini always retained an ambiguous attitude towards his former 'subversive' comrades. According to Luce Fabbri, Luigi Fabbri's daughter, in the early 1920s Mussolini protected Fabbri from assault by local Bolognese *squadristi* and even sent an emissary to their house to invite Fabbri to become a journalist for *Popolo d'Italia*. Fabbri rejected the proposal out of hand and later, in 1926, become one of only two primary school teachers in all of Italy to refuse to pledge loyalty to the régime and thus was forced into exile.¹² Anarchists were active in Paris, New York and elsewhere in the 1920s and 1930s. They carried out several unsuccessful attempts on Mussolini's life in the early 1930s.¹³ The anarchists were active in Spain during the Civil War and maintained partisan groups in the Milanese, Liguria and Tuscany during the Resistance.

The movement even enjoyed a brief resurgence in the immediate postwar period, as dissident communists, discontented by what they termed Togliatti's overly moderate and bureaucratic politics, joined the libertarians, Trotskyists and Bordighists in a short-lived *fronde* against the Communist Party.¹⁴ But these developments were transitory. When a mass movement of mainly unskilled southern workers appeared on the scene in the late 1960s, the New Left addressed them in Leninist or Marxist language.

Torinese Anarchists 1921-45

Anarchists and syndicalists remained relatively important in Turin until the massacre of December 1922. In the spring of 1921 the anarchists and syndicalists seemed to experience something of a revival. This was caused by the ineffectiveness of the socialists and communists who were busily engaged in internecine warfare. The libertarians mobilized widespread support for political prisoners (Malatesta and comrades), solidarity with the repression of the left in Tuscany and Apulia and the increasing industrial unrest in Turin caused by unemployment and Agnelli's introduction of collective piece-work, but their success was short lived. Gramsci and Parodi, for the communists, sympathized with some of the demands advanced by the libertarians, but cautioned against direct action in support of the Tuscans and Apulians. In March, Michelin and, in April, Fiat, successfully locked out workers and then sacked 1,500 to 2,000 employees, many of whom had been libertarian or socialist militants during the *biennio rosso*.¹⁵

The libertarians were unable to marshal significant support in a full-scale showdown with employers and the state. Meanwhile, new disputes erupted within their own ranks between a group dominated by the leader of the local *Unione Sindacale*, the individualist Margarita, and the pro-FIOM Ferrero. After the anarchist bombing in Milan and the lock-out in Turin, the *Unione Sindacale* was quickly reduced to insignificance.¹⁶ However, Pietro Ferrero remained active as the secretary of the local branch of FIOM until his brutal murder in December 1922, even if FIOM did not count for much in 1921 and 1922 as its provincial membership shrank from a postwar high of 20,000 to less than 1,000. Ferrero became deeply involved in the struggle between communists and socialists to win control of the local branch. Increasingly he joined with Gramsci's faction and even wrote a few articles in the daily *L'Ordine Nuovo*, but he became suspect in local anarchist circles. Margarita had denounced both Garino and Ferrero as communist stooges as early as January 1921. However, by the middle of 1921 most Torinese anarchists seemed to believe that Ferrero had become too intimate with the communists, while Garino had become less active politically.¹⁷

Ferrero's proximity to the communists led to some rather ironic situations. After the mass sackings of April 1921, the internal commissions were dominated by the socialists who called for a referendum to judge the competence of the executive of the local branch of FIOM. Tasca and Ferrero both opposed the referendum by arguing that the purged commissions were not representative of the revolutionary élan for which

Turin was noted. Instead they had the referendum based not on industrial units but the neighbourhood circles of the unions where the communists had greater influence. The *ordinovisti* had renounced their own political legacy so that their new party could maintain its presence in the metal-working and engineering industries. Although less than 3,000 FIOM members voted in the referendum, they endorsed Ferrero and his executive, while in October 1921 the party won control of Fiat's unemployment fund and in November they maintained control of the AGO, but from the middle of 1921 the theme of the factory council disappeared from the columns of *L'Ordine Nuovo*.¹⁸

If Gramsci did not mince his words after the UAI denounced the Soviet Union, locally at least, he was more sympathetic to the non-party Arditi del Popolo until Bordiga ordered him to shift his position. Furthermore, he was encouraged by statements from Fabbri and Borghi concerning the Labour Alliance.¹⁹ However, after its last legal congress in March 1922, when the USI refused to join with the communists, Gramsci once again denounced its anti-communist leadership. Carlo Beruti's communist faction within the SFI helped to destabilize the SFI and thus weaken that very Labour Alliance Gramsci seemed prepared to endorse.²⁰

Similar contradictions are evident in the columns of the daily *L'Ordine Nuovo* in 1921 and 1922. Sometimes adjacent pages would denounce Italian anarchist support for the persecuted anarchists or Socialist Revolutionaries in Russia and announce fervent support for the plight of Sacco and Vanzetti in America.²¹ One could, for instance, write a short essay on Gramsci's and *L'Ordine Nuovo*'s judgement of the Kronstadt revolt. Using French and Russian sources Gramsci seemed to admit that the rebels were mistaken but sincere revolutionaries, only to then reduce this tragedy to a vast Anglo-French conspiracy.²² The death of Kropotkin in March 1921 produced a series of sympathetic obituaries, followed by Victor Serge's demolition of Bakunin using the recently discovered *Confessions to the Tsar* to undermine his credibility.²³ Finally, when it came to the Unione Sindacale Gramsci was caught in a real dilemma. While he never had much time for Borghi, until the USI leadership broke openly with the Comintern in 1922, Gramsci could only voice his support for Nicola Vecchi's pro-communist faction *sotto voce*. Afterwards, although he endorsed the Comintern's financial assistance to the pro-communist faction, he was decidedly uneasy about Vecchi's opposition to joining the CGL.²⁴

Emblematic of Gramsci's ambiguous attitude, however, must be the squabble over the political legacy left by Pietro Ferrero after his violent death in December 1922.

During the days 17–20 December 1922, at least eleven anti-fascists were brutally murdered by the squads of De Vecchi and Brandimarte. The suburban worker circles, the Chamber of Labour and the offices of *L'Ordine Nuovo* were destroyed.²⁵ Long-term causes of the massacre can be sought in the fact that Turin had resisted fascist assaults in April 1921 and July 1922. However, the immediate cause was the split within the local *fascio* between 'second wave' fascists on the one hand, and the more moderate 'left-wing' fascists led by the ex-anarchist Mario Gioda, on the other.²⁶ The centre of the attentions of the squads were militants within the tram drivers' union which had the highest percentage of strikers of any union during the July strike. The first victim of the massacre was Francesco Prato who had previously guarded the offices of *L'Ordine Nuovo* against fascist attack. Prato killed two fascists during a late night shoot-out. Although the background leading up to this confrontation is particularly obscure and may have been the result of a personal squabble, the fascists took the opportunity to settle accounts with their anti-fascist adversaries. However, it is probably the case that Mussolini and the fascist hierarchy in Rome neither ordered nor endorsed the massacre that followed.

On 18 December Ferrero and Carlo Beruti were among the dead. Beruti was shot three times in the back, while despite warnings by Gioda and Andrea Viglono to leave Turin, Ferrero was caught by a fascist squad.

He was pushed towards the Chamber of Labour. He fell and got up and was forced into the building which had become a makeshift prison cell in which Ferrero and three other workers were imprisoned by the fascists. One of them was a friend but he pretended not to know Ferrero, sprawled on the floor; he did not get up again. Outside [(the *squadristi*, CL) yelling, they parodied funeral songs, inventing a macabre ceremony, dancing in a circle outside the cell they chanted in unison: 'I was Pietro Ferrero, I was Pietro Ferrero . . .'. They drag him out into the road. It is midnight. 'You are a bastard, an exploiter of the workers!', and still more blows and clubbings. He was still not dead when a lorry arrived.²⁷

He was then dragged down Corso Vittorio Emanuele and his battered corpse could only be identified the next day through his Green Cross card. Garino arranged the funeral, all of Turin was still terrorized and only five men and 11 women attended. Not one official from FIOM appeared, although the union did send a wreath. Agnelli and other Torinese industrialists were horrified by the violence unleashed by De Vecchi and sent a protest to Mussolini in Rome.²⁸

By now Gramsci had been in Moscow, but in 1924 an obituary appeared for Ferrero in the third weekly series of *L'Ordine Nuovo*. Although

Giovanni Parodi signed the article, it had been ghost-written by Gramsci. In it the reader is presented with a report about the dedication of the Moscow factory, Amo, to Ferrero. Several months later, in Malatesta's last review, *Pensiero e Volontà*, Luigi Fabbri rejected the communist appropriation of Ferrero's name, asking whether the workers at the Ferrero Factory of Moscow had any more civil rights than Ferrero's comrades in fascist Italy.²⁹

However, the controversy over Ferrero did not cease here. Writing from Moscow in 1924 Alfonso Leonetti sought to demonstrate how the Russian anarchists had happily collaborated with the Bolshevik regime. He interviewed the Russo-American Bill Shatoff who had known Carlo Tresca and spoke Italian with a Neapolitan accent. He also interviewed Helmut Sandomirsky, the Russian anarcho-syndicalist, who claimed that Malatesta had taken leave of his senses when he published his damning obituary of Lenin. Leonetti contrasted these reasonable and serious anarchists to frivolous counter-revolutionaries, and Pietro Ferrero served as a role model for the Italians.³⁰ However, Sandomirsky wrote a blistering letter to the anarchist newspaper *Fede!* and the executive committee of the Italian Communist Party denying the substance of Leonetti's interview with him and Shatoff. In his letter, published in *L'Unità* in September 1924, he compared Leonetti unfavourably to Tom Mann who defended rather than denied the persecution of the anarchists and Socialist Revolutionaries by the Bolshevik regime. He also claimed that leading Bolsheviks never denied this persecution and concluded by noting that in fact he had had many conversations with Italian communists in Moscow and abroad and 'I received a strong impression that the name and person of Malatesta was highly regarded even by them'. Leonetti's reply in the same issue was evasive and embarrassing. Clearly Sandomirsky was a tortured individual. As a member of the Soviet delegation to the Rapallo Conference in 1922, leading Italian anarchists tried to meet him in order to discuss the cases of imprisoned Russian anarchists and prevent any further executions. He wanted to cry after reading a letter from Luigi Fabbri because the 'anarchists more than anyone else had given their life in order to save the revolution . . . and it is they who have now been imprisoned by the "monopolists" of the revolution in Russia. And I have become, in a certain sense, their diplomatic representative at the Court of Mr Lenin and friends.' Years later, in 1934, he wrote a last letter from the Soviet Union to Fabbri, now in exile in Montevideo: 'Nothing great for me and my friends. The times have become furious'. Shortly after, Sandomirsky disappeared into the Gulags.³¹

Ferrero was not the only anarchist to die violently in Turin in the early

1920s. After his sacking, Giuseppe De Luisi turned to robbery and was shot during an armed hold-up in late 1922 and later imprisoned.³² Other anarchists suffered long prison sentences for their involvement in the murder of fascists and nationalists during the occupations of the factories.³³ Many left Turin. Margarita was quite active in Spain during the early 1930s but he was deported by the authorities of the Second Republic. He and Raffaele Schiavina (who was freed after fifteen months detention on suspicion of organizing the Arditi del Popolo) lived in exile in Paris in the middle 1920s and then lived semi-legally in the USA for most of the 1930s and 1940s. In the early 1930s Schiavina was involved in Michele Schirru's assassination attempt on Mussolini, which traced its origins to the *galleanisti* in the Bronx. Under the name Max Sartin (and known to his friends as 'Bruno'), Schiavina became a leading figure in *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*, and he remained a refractory until his death in 1987. Margarita returned to Turin after the war, and was a colourful figure in Italian anarchism until his death in 1975.³⁴

In Turin anarchists maintained a rather important clandestine presence and helped *Giustizia e Libertà* gain a minor foothold amongst factory workers.³⁵ Emma Ferrero, Pietro Mosso and Italo Garinei gave in and swore allegiance to the regime; even the anti-fascist Garino was forced by the regime to turn his modelmaker's cooperative into a joint-stock company.³⁶ Other Torinese anarchists fought in the Spanish Civil War. Mosso died in an Allied bombing raid on Turin in 1945. Ironically he had helped devise bomb shelters during the war.³⁷ During the Resistance the anarchists in Piedmont fought alongside the communists. At least one member of the *Barriera di Milano* group, Antonio Mairone, died in a Nazi concentration camp. Finally, several anarchist militants played key roles in the mass strikes and the final insurrection in Turin during 1943–5.³⁸

Gramsci and the Anarchists: The Final Reckoning

Before the Communist Party was made illegal in 1926, the party press devoted substantial amounts of space to the anarchists and the syndicalists. Articles by the ex-syndicalist Giuseppe Di Vittorio explained the weaknesses of syndicalism, Ruggiero Grieco unearthed Croce's old accusation of the relationship between Malatesta and the Bourbon Queen of the Kingdom of Naples, while Gramsci, Togliatti and Tasca returned to reassess the legacy left by Italian anarchism.³⁹ As Tasca grew disenchanted with the growing influence of Stalin on the Comintern, he read Pisacane in Paris's *Bibliothèque Nationale*.⁴⁰ Gramsci analysed the syndicalists in reference to the south. In his essay on the 'Southern Question' and in the *Prison*

Notebooks Gramsci's notion of subversivism, spontaneity and the peculiar weaknesses of the pre-fascist left in Italy revolved around the effects of the anarchists and syndicalists on Italian political culture.⁴¹ In the 1930s Togliatti, as secretary of the Latin Section of the Comintern, produced some fairly well-balanced accounts of Italian anarchism. Worthy of note are his obituary for Errico Malatesta in 1932 and his lecture on Italian anarchism before Italian communists at their party school at Moscow in 1935.⁴² However, his other political activities during this period are not clear. As 'Federico' he became the *eminence grise* of the Spanish Communist Party from 1937 to the fall of the Republic. What role he played in the purge of the anarchists and the Puomists, or for that matter of the Polish communists back in Moscow, is still open to debate. He probably arrived in Spain too late to be directly involved in Camillo Berneri's death during Barcelona's May Days, and recent evidence may point to Mussolini's secret service carrying out the murder during the chaos of those days, while other communists such as Luigi Longo, and especially Vittorio Vidali, were probably personally more implicated in the suppression of the anarchists in Aragon and elsewhere. Vidali eventually ended up in Mexico and then in New York City. There he was implicated in the murder of the anti-Stalinist anarcho-syndicalist, Carlo Tresca. But Dorothy Gallagher claims that he was murdered by a local Mafia boss on Mussolini's orders.⁴³

Aldo Agosti claims that Togliatti was forced to rubber-stamp the sentences visited upon the Polish Communists in order to save his own life and in 1938/1939 with his own brother-in-law, Paolo Robotti, held and tortured by the NKVD, it looked as if he and the Italian Communist Party would suffer the same fate as the Poles. Although Togliatti may have saved his party from a massive purge and might be called a 'moderate' Stalinist, he certainly entered in the campaign against Trotsky with great and vulgar gusto. Togliatti also denounced Italian anarchists like Berneri and the Puom very harshly. Earlier he opposed the campaign to free the anarchist Francesco Ghezzi from Stalin's grip. Ghezzi's case was championed from Paris by the Belgian anarchist Jacques Mesnil, Victor Serge (recently released from a Russian prison) and Angelo Tasca. In 1936 or 1937 Ghezzi was swallowed up in the Great Purges.⁴⁴ During the 1930s Tasca was a leading figure in both the French and Italian socialist movements. He constantly returned to the non-Leninist radical traditions of anarchist or pre-Marxian socialism. However, if Togliatti compromised himself with Stalin, Tasca's life was cast under shadow due to still not entirely clear relations with the Vichy régime during the war.⁴⁵

Paris was also a centre for Italian anarchists, and it was here the first group of Italian anarchist volunteers and members of Carlo Rosselli's

Giustizia e Libertà joined forces to support the resistance to Franco's coup. Berneri was one of the most independent minds amongst the anarchists and his new version of *Guerra di Classe*, which appeared in Barcelona, opposed the FAI involvement in the Spanish government. Berneri pleaded with his Spanish comrades to employ the old Iberian tradition of guerrilla warfare, as well as to mount an anti-imperialist campaign in Morocco to weaken Franco's rear. He was not listened to, but in the tense weeks leading up to the May Days, Berneri tried to calm passions on opposing anarchist and communist sides.⁴⁶

Like Carlo Rosselli, who would die at the hands of the French Cagou-lards at the behest of Mussolini in early June, both men were disenchanted by the politics of the communists in Spain, yet both saw the need for a continued alliance with them. Berneri also shared with Rosselli his quest for a third way between social democracy and Stalinism. Carlo Rosselli's brother, Nello, who died with him, was a rising young historian who had written important accounts of Bakunin in Italy, the First International and the legacy of Pisacane. Carlo had written his dissertation under Salvemini on syndicalism.⁴⁷ Later, in the 1940s the Partito d'Azione would carry on the legacy of this third way, and young intellectuals such as Aldo Garosci and Franco Venturi, who encountered Torinese anarchists in the 1930s, recognized the importance of promoting a federalist and libertarian form of socialism. Although Luigi Fabbri had earlier written a series of articles about federalism for Malatesta's *Peniero e Volontà* and Gobetti's *Rivoluzione Liberale*, Gobetti died in Paris of wounds earlier inflicted on him by Torinese fascists.⁴⁸

During his stay in Turi Prison, Gramsci encountered several rather odd individualist anarchists, one of whom later became a communist and disowned his report, a scandalous account of Gramsci's life in his cell, for *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*.⁴⁹ Berneri was more appreciative of Gramsci's legacy. His last public act before his murder was to broadcast a heartfelt obituary for the recently deceased Gramsci from the studios of Radio CNT-FAI on 3 May 1937. Two days later his body was discovered outside its offices at the Generalitat in the centre of Barcelona.⁵⁰

Notes

1. A. Borghi, *Mezzo secolo di anarchia*, Naples, 1954, pp. 248–52; G. Maione, *Il biennio rosso. Autonomia e spontaneità operaia nel 1919–*

- 1920, Bologna, 1975, pp. 256–8; M. Revelli, 'Intervista a M. Garino', MS, Turin, 1975, pp. 157–9.
2. M. Antonioli and B. Bezza, *La FIOM dalle origini al fascismo, 1901–1926*, Bari, 1978, pp. 625, 627, 630; M. Clark, *Antonio Gramsci and the Revolution that Failed*, New Haven, 1977, p. 172.
3. *Avanti!* (Piedmontese edition), 22 September 1920, p. 1. One year later Emma Ferrero blamed the *ordinovisti* for not giving the lead Garino demanded, *Umanità Nova*, 15 Sept. 1921, p. 2. The role of the anarchists during the occupations in Turin is described in Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino', pp. 157–9. Naturally, the editors of *Cronaca Sovversiva* were critical of the Red Guards. One report described how a comrade had been 'arrested' for pilfering. See, 'Cesare', 'A zonzo. Per le officine occupati', *Cronaca Sovversiva*, 2 October 1920, p. 3.
4. C. Levy, 'Charisma and social movements: Errico Malatesta and Italian anarchism', *Modern Italy*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1998, pp. 213–15.
5. P. Spriano, *Storia del Partito Comunista Italiano*, vol. 1, Turin, 1967, pp. 133–51; P. Spriano, 'Gramsci, il fascismo e gli "Arditi del Popolo"', *Critica Marxista*, Quaderno 3, 1967, pp. 175–99; M. Rossi, *Arditi, non gendarmi! Dall'arditismo di guerra agli arditi del popolo 1917–1922*, Pisa, 1997.
6. Borghi, *Mezzo secolo*, pp. 272–80; P. Spriano, *Storia*, pp. 197–214. On the SFI and the Labour Alliance see, F. Domani, 'Il Sindacato Ferroviari Italiani dal Congresso di Bologna allo scioglimento della CGdL', in M. Antonioli, R. Bernardi, and G. Checcozzo (eds), *Il sindacato ferroviari italiani dalle origini al fascismo 1907–1925*, Milan, 1994, pp. 315–16.
7. V. Mantovani, *Mazurka blu. La strage del Diana*, Milan, 1979, pp. 628–9; P. C. Masini, 'Gli anarchici italiani e la Rivoluzione Russa', *Rivista Storica del Socialismo*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1962, pp. 165–6. For the UAI resolution, see Masini, 'Gli anarchici', pp. 164–5. Gramsci's fierce article is, 'Libertà per tutti, se così almeno vi pare', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 24 November 1921, in *Socialismo e fascismo. L'Ordine Nuovo 1921–1922* (Turin, 1966) [Hereafter, *SF*], pp. 407–12. For the anarchist response to Gramsci, see L. Fabbri, 'Saggi di dialettica comunista', *Umanità Nova*, 2 December 1921, p. 2; also see 13 December 1921, p. 2; 1 January 1922, p. 2. On 5 December 1921 the Torinese anarchists issued a manifesto denouncing the slanderous attacks of Gramsci. See, 'Gli anarchici torinesi ai lavoratori comunisti', *Umanità Nova*, 7 December 1921, p. 3. Malatesta's obituary for Lenin is 'Lutto o Festa?' *Pensiero e Volontà*, 1 February 1924, in E. Malatesta, *Pensiero e Volontà e ultimi scritti 1924/32*, vol. 3, Carrara, 1975, p. 33. For the

- differences between Fabbri and Malatesta over the meaning of Lenin's political life, see P. Nursey-Bray, 'Malatesta and the anarchist revolution', *Anarchist Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1995, pp. 31-4.
8. [Ugo Fedeli], *Un trentennio di attività anarchica* (Forlì, 1953), pp. 80-6. After the collapse of the 'legal strike' in August 1922 a report in *Umanità Nova*, 1 September 1922, p. 5, read: 'especially in the Marches, in Umbria, in Tuscany, in Liguria and in Emilia the devastation has been methodical and almost complete'.
 9. C. Bertrand, 'Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy, 1912-1922', PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1969, pp. 330-71; M. Antonioli, *Azione diretta e organizzazione operaia. Sindacalismo rivoluzionario e anarchismo tra la fine dell'Ottocento e il fascismo*, Manduria, 1990, pp. 165-201. For the international dimension, see W. Westergaard Thorpe, W. Thorpe, *The Workers Themselves. Revolutionary Syndicalism and International Labor, 1913-1923*, Amsterdam, 1989, chapters 3-6; M. Antonioli, *Armando Borghi e l'Unione Sindacale Italiano*, Manduria, 1990, pp. 109-37.
 10. A. Landuyt, *Le sinistre e l'Aventino*, Milan, 1972, pp. 367, 477.
 11. Fedeli, *Il trentennio*, pp. 86-7.
 12. Mantovani, *Mazurka blu*, pp. 635-9. For Fabbri incident, see Luce Fabbri, *Luigi Fabbri. Storia d'un uomo libero*, Pisa, 1996, p. 153.
 13. G. Cerrito, 'L'emigrazione libertaria italiana in Francia nel ventennio fra le due guerre', in B. Bezza (ed.), *Gli italiani fuori d'Italia. Gli emigrati italiani nei movimenti operale dei paesi d'adazione 1880-1940*, Milan, 1983, pp. 831-912; G. Fiori, *L'anarchico Schirru condannato a morte per l'intenzione di uccidere Mussolini*, Milan, 1983; P. Bianconi, *Gli anarchici italiani nella lotta contro il fascismo*, Pistoia, 1988; G. Galzerano, 'Attentati anarchici a Mussolini' in G. Manfredonia (ed.), *L'antifascismo rivoluzionario*, Pisa, 1992.
 14. C. Venza, *Tra rivoluzione e guerra. Libertari italiani nella Spagna degli anni Trenta*, Milan, 1995. For anarchist activities in exile and during the Resistance, see Garosci, 1953, *Storia dei fuorsciuti*, Bari, 1953, pp. 13, 23-4, 45, 51-2, 61, 63-4, 123; Berti and Marzocchi, in Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Toscana, *Giustizia e Libertà nella lotta antifascista e nella storia d'Italia*, Florence, 1977; D. Gallagher, *All the Right Enemies: The Life and Murder of Carlo Tresca*, New Brunswick, 1987. For the Resistance, see Fedeli, *Un trentennio*, pp. 109-18; P. Feri, *Il movimento anarchico in Italia (1944-1950). Dalla resistenza alla ricostituzione*, Rome, 1978; A. Dadà, *L'anarchismo in Italia: fra movimento e partito. Storia e documenti dell'anarchismo italiano*, Milan, 1984, pp. 98-139; G.

Manfredonia et.al., *La resistenza sconosciuta. Gli anarchici e la lotta contro il fascismo. I giornali anarchici clandestini 1943-45*, Milan, 1995; G. Sacchetti, 'Resistenza e guerra sociale. Il Movimento anarchico e la lotta di liberazione 1943-1945', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1995, pp. 5-27.

15. For the activities of the USI and the other anarchists in Turin during late 1920 and early 1921, see *Umanità Nova*, 21 November 1920, p. 3; 5 January 1921, p. 3; 21 January 1921, p. 4; 22 March 1921, p. 2; 24 March 1921, p. 2; *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 23 January 1921, p. 2; 25 January 1921, p. 3; 30 January 1921, p. 1; 1 February 1921, p. 2; 6 February 1921, p. 5; 7 February 1921, p. 2; 10 February 1921, p. 5; 17 February 1921, p. 5; 2 March 1921, p. 2; 21 March 1921, p. 3; 24 August 1921, p. 3; 25 August 1921, p. 5; 1 September 1921, p. 3. Reports of the Prefect of the Turin to the Minister of the Interior, 30 December 1921, 1 January 1921, 2 February 1921, in ACS, PS 1921, B.84: Agitazioni Metallurgici-Torino. For the criticism of Ferrer and Garino by Buozzi, see *Umanità Nova*, 9 November 1920, p. 2. For Gramsci's and Parodi's statements, see ACS, PS 1921, B.133: Movimento Anarchico e Comunista, reports of the Prefect of Turin to the Minister of the Interior, 5 and 8 March 1921. For the lockout, see Clark, *Antonio Gramsci*, pp. 189-93; F. Adler, *Italian Industrialists from Liberalism to Fascism, 1906-1934*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 243-4. In a previously cited interview with an anonymous anarchist militant, *Umanità Nova*, 26 July 1921, p. 3, he claims that over 2,500 workers had been sacked from Fiat by the summer of 1921. They were mostly 'the best revolutionaries' and now 'freedom in the workshops is a myth, the most naked reaction triumphs undisturbed'. Moreover, the technicians had reverted to their formerly imperious manner.
16. For Margarita's attacks, see *Umanità Nova*, 3 Nov. 1920, p. 2. He claimed that Garino and Ferrero tacitly supported the socialist electoral campaign in 1919/1920, and that both men worked hand in glove with Buozzi during the strike of April 1920. Ferrero and Garino denied all charges. See, *Umanità Nova*, 9 November 1920, p. 2.
17. For Ferrero's positions at the FIOM congresses of 1921-2, see Antonioli and Bezza, *La FIOM*, pp. 667, 671-2, 681-2. For Garino, see *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 26 June 1921, p. 5, 27 June 1921, p. 3. On the disenchantment with Garino and Ferrero of the Torinese anarchists, see Emma Ferrero's report in *L'Avvenire Anarchico*, 19 May 1922, p. 5. For Ferrero's articles, see P. Ferrero, 'Quale devo essere l'opera dei proletari a favore dei disoccupati', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 3 February 1921, p. 3, where

he gives a pessimistic interpretation of the effects of prolonged unemployment.

At first, there were many hopes that the constant increase in the number of the unemployed would contribute to the increase of the spirit of rebellion amongst the masses of workers ... unhappily, one must conclude that the crisis has produced the opposite effect ...

Another pessimistic account is found in, P. Ferrero, 'Ad un anno dalla "serrata" della FIAT', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 28 April 1921, p. 3. Although Ferrero had collaborated closely with the communists, he expressed reservations about the dictatorship of the proletariat. See, *Umanità Nova*, 25 February 1921, p. 5; 18 March 1921, p. 1.

18. Agosti, 1980, pp. 32, 34-5. Also see the anonymous report in *Umanità Nova*, 9 March 1921, where the referendum is described as 'a real joke'. Ferrero became increasingly sceptical of mass action in 1921. After 1,200 workers were sacked at Ferriere Piemontese in September 1921, he was reported to have said at a meeting: 'It is not enough to heckle the reformists at meetings, to vote in revolutionary resolutions and then go to work cowardly accepting the conditions the bosses give you individually: less talk more action.' See, *Umanità Nova*, 28 September 1921, p. 4.
19. For Gramsci's position on the Arditi del Popolo and the Labour Alliance, see P. Spriano, 'Gramsci, il fascismo e gli "Arditi del Popolo"', *Critica Marxista*, Quaderno 3, 1967, pp. 175-99.
20. For Gramsci's position after the USI Congress, see *SF*, pp. 470-3. The USI was suspicious even before their congress. See, 'I comunisti vogliono ammazzare l'Unione Sindacale', *Guerra di Classe*, 18 February 1922, p. 2. For Beruti, see *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 4 October 1921, p. 2, 6 November 1921, p. 1, 19 January 1922, p. 3, 11 April 1922, p. 5, 8 July 1922, p. 1, 30 July 1922, p. 4, 7 September 1922, p. 3. On Beruti's expulsion from the SFI due to his actions, see *Il ferroviere libertario*, *Umanità Nova*, 29 July 1922, p. 2. However the editors of *Umanità Nova* felt the SFI's actions had been too drastic.
21. *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 15 March 1922, p. 1. For the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti, see 17 October 1921, p. 5, 6 November 1921, p. 4. Later on the communists continued their campaign, see *L'Unità*, 17 July 1926, p. 1, 12 July 1926, p. 1, 27 July 1926, p. 1. They even helped the anarchists hold illegal demonstrations after their executions on 24 August 1927, see Secchia, 'L'azione', pp. 64-5. Mussolini took an ambiguous line on the Sacco-Vanzetti affair. He felt that their plight

- could mobilize Italian nationalist feeling, at home and abroad, to the benefit of the régime, but support for subversives might frighten away much-needed American bank loans, see P. V. Cannistraro, 'Mussolini, Sacco-Vanzetti, and the anarchists: the transatlantic context', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 68, no. 1, 1996, pp. 31–62.
22. For Gramsci on Kronstadt, see *SF*, pp. 98–100, 109–10. *L'Ordine Nuovo* also published the following interesting articles. N. H. Brailsford, 'La crisi russa', 10 March 1921, p. 2, 23 March 1921, p. 2, 12 April 1921, pp. 1–2, esp. K. Radek, 'La rivolta di Kronstadt', 11 May 1921, pp. 1–2, 19 May 1921, p. 4. The most revealing article, however, was an anonymous report from Moscow, 'Un anniversario: Kronstadt', 13 April 1922, p. 3. The correspondent admitted that some excellent militants died at Kronstadt. However, neither the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, nor even the advocates of a third 'sovietist' revolution could have won. For an overview of reports on the Kronstadt Revolt in the Italian anarchist press, see Fedele, *Una breve*, pp. 105–9.
 23. For Serge, see P. C. Masini, 'Bakunin in Italia. Mezzo secolo di ricerche e di dibattiti (1876–1926)', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Bakuniniani, Bakunin cento anni dopo*, Milan, 1977, pp. 36–7; V. Serge, 'La rivoluzione russa e alcune critiche pseudo libertarie', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 15 August 1921, pp. 1–2, especially 'La confessioni di Bakunin', 12 January 1922, p. 4, 'Le menzogne di Armando Borghi', 1 August 1922, p. 3. For Kropotkin, see V. U., 'Pietro Kropotkin', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 30 January 1921, p. 2, 27 March 1921, p. 2, 8 May 1921, p. 3.
 24. A Gramsci, *La costruzione del Partito Comunista, 1923–26*, Turin, 1971, (Hereafter CPC), p. 307.
 25. R. De Felice, 'I fatti di Torino di Dicembre 1922', *Studi Storici*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1963, pp. 51–122; G. Carcano, *Strage a Torino*, Milan, 1973; E. Manna, 'Origini del fascismo a Torino (1919–1926)', in U. Levra and N. Tranfaglia (eds), *Torino fra liberalismo e fascismo*, Milan, 1987, pp. 237–373; C. Dosio, 'Le origini del fascismo in provincia di Torino', *Studi Storici*, vol. 35, no. 1, 1994, pp. 183–206.
 26. De Felice, 'I fatti', pp. 59–62, 73–91; Carcano, *Strage*, pp. 78–9; Manna, 'Origini', pp. 277–82.
 27. Carcano, *Strage*, pp. 85–6. On the direct responsibility of Mussolini, Berneri recalled the following in 1930, see 'Le stragi di Torino', *Guerra di Classe*, December 1930, p. 1: 'In fact, the Torinese fascist, Alberto Pirelli, has recounted to many people finding himself present during Mussolini's telephone call to the political authorities in Turin,

- ... Mussolini said the following: "As the Leader of fascism I regret that you haven't killed more of them; as the head of the government I must order that you release the arrested communists". On the massacre itself, see Carcano, *Strage*, pp. 58–9, 78, 83–4.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 85–6. On the protests of the industrialists, see Adler, *Italian Industrialists*, pp. 308–9.
 29. G. Parodi (A. Gramsci), 'La Fabbrica Ferrero a Mosca', *L'Ordine Nuovo*, March 1924, in *CPC*, pp. 533–8. *Pensiero e Volontà*, 1 May 1924, pp. 20–1.
 30. La collaborazione degli anarchici nello stato sovietista, *L'Unità*, 5 July 1924, p. 3.
 31. I. Pucci, 'L'affare Sandomirsky – Malatesta', *Volontà*, vol. 28, no. 3, 1975, pp. 203–10; Fedele, *Una breve*, pp. 131–7. For Sandomirsky's letters to Fabbri see, Luce Fabbri, *Luigi Fabbri*, p. 137.
 32. 'Renzo Novatore', 'Pour la defense de l'anarchisme heroique et expropriateur', *La Revue Anarchiste*, vol. 2, 1923, pp. 12–16. Previously, in January 1922, De Luisi and his gang were involved in a shoot-out with the police in which one anarchist – Raffaele Milanese – was killed. De Luisi was wounded, but escaped arrest and recuperated at a friend's home. He had just been released from prison after serving an 18-month sentence for arms offences. He had been pursued by the police for the robbery of a large number of railway tickets. During the investigation Margarita was briefly detained. Emma Ferrero wondered how De Luisi, who had been 'before his arrest in 1920 a fine and honest worker', had become an 'illegalist'. See *Umanità Nova*, 21 January 1922, p. 2.
 33. For the murder of a brigadier of the carabinieri during the occupation of the Biak factory, the anarchists Rosati and Carra received nine years, Della Massa seven years and Giuseppe Rubino 10 years imprisonment. See, *Umanità Nova*, 9 July 1922, p. 3; *Il Libertario*, 27 July 1922, pp. 2–3. For the murder of a guard at Savigliano Battista Vignola, D. Caponi, Camillo Boccalatte, Carlo Guiliano and S. Polli received eight years; Matteo Ville, Carlo Mezzogara 11 years; G. Caligia, Giuseppe Viotto and Armando Giorcelli 23 years. For the murders of Scimula and Sonzini, Luigi Monticoni and M. Avalareo received 30 years and Agostino Boggo and Ferdinando Beda 17 years respectively. See, *Fede!*, 20 January 1924, p. 3.
 34. For the trials of Schiavina and Galleani, see Fedeli, *Luigi Galleani. Quaranti anni di lotta (1891–1931)*, Cesena, 1956, pp. 175–81. The accusation that the anti-organizationalist Schiavina had helped organize a detachment of Arditi del Popolo was ironic in the opinion

- of Emma Ferrero, see *Umanità Nova*, 20 October 1921, p. 2: 'So, precisely, he who is a convinced anti-organizationalist has become the *condottiere* of the people.' On the other hand, an Italo-American anarchist recalled Borghi saying about the New York *galleanisti*: 'the so-called anti-organizationalists were the best organized group'. See, Avrich, *Anarchist Voices*, p. 147. At his trial Schiavina claimed that he only observed a formation of Arditi del Popolo at a local cemetery. See, *Umanità Nova*, 11 April 1922, p. 2. For his later life, see Berman, 'The Torch'; P. Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti. The Anarchist Background*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 212–13. In any case Schiavina was not prone to violence. The Italo-American anarchist, John Vattuone, recalled that "'Bruno" (his American pseudonym) was a dedicated anarchist, but he himself couldn't make a bomb, could not even kill a fly.' See, Avrich, *Anarchist Voices*, p. 152. For Margarita, see ACS, CPC 3053, reports for the 1920s and 1930s.
35. Fedeli, *Un trentennio*, pp. 98, 126–7, 174; R. Zucaro, 'I socialisti e l'origine di Giustizia e Libertà in Italia: Il gruppo torinese di Voci di Officina', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 4, 1972, pp. 573–600; F. Giulietti, 'I gruppi anarchici "Barriera di Nizza" e "Barriera di Milano" nelle note della polizia fascista – Torino 1930', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1997, pp. 47–67. For another study of neighbourhood anarchism during fascism, see M. Zane, 'Anarchici di quartiere. Antifascismo e vita quotidiana nel quartiere industriale Campo Fiera di Brescia', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1995, pp. 29–56.
 36. Mosso was queried by the police due to his earlier friendship with Camillo Berneri. For his pledge of fidelity to the Regime, see ACS, CPC 1687, 24 February 1930. For Emma Ferrero, see ACS, CPC 2032, Ferrero, Emma, entries for 1929 and 1938. For Garino, see Revelli, 'Intervista a Garino' p. 160.
 37. Pietro Raineri of *Cronaca Sovversiva* died in battle, see M. Montagnana, *Ricordi di un operaio torinese (sotto la guida di Gramsci)*, Rome, 1952, p. 418. Giuseppe Prevosto was an officer in the FAI between June 1936 and February 1937. See, ACS, CPC 426, Prevosto, Giuseppe. Dante Armenetti remained in Spain from 1936 to 1939. He fought with the Ascaso column and was arrested after Barcelona's May Days. He remained imprisoned and was deported to France just before Franco's victory in 1939. See ACS, CPC 191, Armenetti, Dante. For Mosso's death, see Masini, *Antonio Gramsci e l'Ordine Nuovo vista da un liberatario*, Milan, 1956, pp. 22–3.
 38. For Mairone, see *Ibid.*, p. 20. For the 1943–5 strikes and the Resistance,

- see T. Imperato, 'Anarchici a Torino. Dario Cagna e Ilio Baroni nella resistenza', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1995, pp. 43–5.
39. For Di Vittorio, see *L'Unità*, 11 June 1924, p. 1; 10 October 1924, p. 2; 14 November 1924, p. 2; 5 August 1925, p. 6. For Grieco, see 'Anarchici e borbonici', *Stato Operaio*, 1926, pp. 586–8; 1927, pp. 21–38.
 40. Masini, *Carl Cafiero*, Milan, 1974, pp. 380–1.
 41. A. Gramsci, *Selections from Political Writings 1921–1926* (selected and edited by Quintin Hoare, translated by John Matthews), London 1978, pp. 441–62. For the *Quaderni*, see A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere* (edited by Valentino Gerratana), Turin, 1975, vols 1–4, pp. 47, 49, 68–9, 319–20, 323–32, 777–8, 843, 927, 930, 1581–91, 1808, 1939–40, 2021, 2025, 2481, 2482, 2829, 2988.
 42. E. Ragionieri, 1973, *Palmiro Togliatti. Opere*, vol. 3, pt. 2, Rome, 1973, pp. 94–8, 512–27, 659–71.
 43. Spriano, *Storia*, vol. 3, pp. 86–7, 180, 214–16, 263, 272; G. Bocca, *Palmiro Togliatti*, Bari, 1973, pp. 282–305; B. Bolloten, *The Spanish Civil War. Revolution and Counterrevolution*, London, 1991, pp. 875–7. On the role of Vittorio Vidali in North America see, Gallagher, *All the Right*, Chapter Fourteen.
 44. For Togliatti on Ghezzi, see Ragionieri's introduction to volume 3 of his collected works, *Opere*, pp. XL–XLII; also pp. 300–5, 448–50, 489–501. On Togliatti and Stalinism, see Bocca, *Togliatti*, 265–78; P. Spriano, *Stalin and the European Communists*, London, 1985, pp. 48–51; A. Agosti, *Palmiro Togliatti*, Turin, 1996, pp. 223–56. For the anarchist victims of Stalinism, see A. Leonetti, *Vittime italiane dello stalinismo in URSS*, Milan, 1978, pp. 30–5; Mantovani, *Mazurka blu*, pp. 618–26; Fedele, *Una breve*, pp. 165–9.
 45. G. Berti (ed.), 'Problemi del movimento operaio. Scritti critiche e storici inediti di Angelo Tasca', *Annali della Biblioteca G. G. Feltrinelli*, vol. 10, 1968, pp. 13–4, 18–26, 43–73, 121–7, 231–44, 246–63, 296–306, 558–60. For Tasca's politics in the 1930s see A. De Grand, *In Stalin's Shadow: Angelo Tasca and the Crisis of the Left in Italy and France, 1910–1945*, De Kalb, pp. 69–155. For the Vichy episode, see De Grand, *In Stalin's Shadow*, pp. 155–68; L. Rapone, 'Tra Vichy and la Resistenza', *Studi Storici*, vol. 38, no. 4, 1997, pp. 1195–203.
 46. C. M. Rama, 'Camillo Berneri e la rivoluzione spagnola', in *Biografie*, pp. 61–88.

47. P. Bagnoli, *Carlo Rosselli tra pensiero politico e azione*, Florence, 1985.
48. P. C. Masini, 'Camillo Berneri collaboratore di *Rivoluzione Liberale*', *Volontà*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1947, pp. 30–4; G. Manfredonia, *La lutte humaine*, Luigi Fabbri, *le mouvement anarchiste italien e la lutte contre le fascisme*, Paris, 1994, p. 83; P. Bagnoli, 'Piero Gobetti and the liberal revolution in Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1997, pp. 34–44.; M. Scavino, 'Berneri, Gobetti, e la rivoluzione italiana', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1997, pp. 75–84.
49. Ezio Taddei, 'Di ritorno', *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*, 4 Dec. 1937, p. 2; P. Spriano, *Gramsci in carcere e il partito*, Rome, 1977, p. 100.
50. Originally broadcast on 3 May 1937 on Radio CNT-FAI-Barcelona and transcribed in *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*, 12 June 1937, p. 2. For Berneri's death, see Garosci, *Storia*, pp. 157–8; Spriano, *Storia*, vol. 3, p. 209. An appreciative obituary of Berneri and his modern anarchism written by Angelo Tasca appeared in *Guerra di Classe*, 23 June 1937, p. 1, see M. Gervasoni, 'Il filo rosso della "inappartenza": Berneri e Tasca', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1997, pp. 85–8. The campaign to release Gramsci had been going on for several years. However, at a meeting of Italian and French anti-fascists held in Paris on 13 July 1934, Bocconi, on behalf of the anarchists, declined to join 'because this would be in direct contradiction with the anarchist campaign to free all the detained in Russia'. But Lucy Parsons, widow of the American anarchist Albert Parsons, hanged after the Haymarket Riot, wrote an undated letter to Mussolini addressed 'from a native American' to plead for Gramsci's release. See, ACS, CPC 2499, Gramsci, Antonio.

Bibliography

I. Primary Materials

A. Unpublished

(i) Archives

ACS PS. Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione affari generali e riservati, Rome.

ACS CPC. Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Casellario Politico Centrale, Rome.

ASM. Archivio di Stato di Milano, Fondo Prefettura, Gabinetto, Milan.

AST. Archivio di Stato di Torino, Turin.

BGF. Biblioteca G. Feltrinelli, Milan.

IISH. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

(ii) Unpublished Manuscripts, PhD theses and Private Correspondence

Bertrand, C., 'Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy, 1912-1922', PhD, University of Wisconsin, 1969.

Luigi Fabbri Collection, IISH, Amsterdam.

Revelli, M., 'Intervista a M. Garino', MS Turin, 1975.

B. Published

(i) Newspapers

L'Adunata dei Refrattari (New York) - 1937.

L'Avanguardia (Rome) - 1916-20.

Avanti! (Piedmontese edition) - 1919-20.

Avanti! (Milan) - 1916-21.

L'Avvenire Anarchico (Pisa) - 1912-22.

Cronaca Sovversiva (Turin) - 1920.

La Difesa (Florence) - 1917-20.

Freedom (London) - 1915.

Il Grido del Popolo (Turin) - 1914-18.

- Guerra di Classe* (Mirandola, Florence and Milan) – 1915–22.
La Guerra Sociale (Turin) – 1908.
Lavoratori Avanti! (Turin) – 1920.
Libero Accordo (Rome) – 1923–6.
Il Libertario (La Spezia) – 1916–20.
Il Metallurgico (Turin) – 1916–20.
L'Ordine (Turin) – 1900.
L'Ordine Nuovo (Turin) – 1919–20;
 (Daily) – 1921–22;
 (Third Series) – 1923–24.
Pagine Libertarie (Milan) – 1922.
Pensiero e Volontà (Rome) – 1924–6.
La Revue Anarchiste (Paris) – 1923.
La Scuola Moderna. Bollettino Semestriale Editto dal circolo di cultura
 'Francesco Ferrer' (Turin) – 1916–17.
La Squilla (Turin) – 1916–20.
Il Soviet (Naples) – 1919–20.
Lo Stato Operaio (Paris) – 1926–32.
Studi Sociali (Montevideo) – 1932–4.
Umanità Nova (Milan) – 1920;
 (Rome) – 1921–2.
L'Unità (Rome) – 1924–6.
L'Università Popolare (Milan) – 1909.
Volontà (Ancona) – 1913–15;
 1919–20.
Workers' Dreadnought (London) – 1918–20.

(ii) Pamphlets

- 3^o Congresso dell'Unione Sindacale, *I consigli di fabbrica* – A. Borghi,
 Bologna, 1919.
 UAI, *Il Fronte unico rivoluzionario*, Bologna, 1920.

II Later Works

(i) Articles

- Adler, F., 'Factory Councils, Gramsci and the Industrialists', *Telos*, vol.
 31, 1977, pp. 67–90.
 Allio, R., 'Oddino Morgari, socialista', *Bollettino Bibliografico-Storico*
 Subalpino, vol. 48, 1970, pp. 567–91.
 Anderson, P., 'The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci', *New Left Review*,
 no. 100, 1976–77, pp. 5–78.

- Andreasi, A., 'Bruno Buozzi e il movimento sindacale italiano', *Annali della Biblioteca Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, vol. 14, 1973, pp. 382-421.
- Andreucci, F., 'Fra il pianto e il riso. La satira e l'umorismo dei socialisti italiani nel periodo del Seconda Internazionale', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, 2nd series, vol. 5, no. 1, 1982, pp. 3-28.
- Antonioli, M., 'Il movimento anarchico italiano nel 1914', *Storia e Politica*, vol. 13, 1973, pp. 235-54.
- , 'Sindacalismo rivoluzionario italiano e modello industrialista da Filippo Corridoni ai sindacati nazionali d'industria (1911-1914)', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1976, pp. 14-78.
- , 'Gli anarchici italiani e la prima guerra mondiale. Lettere di anarchici interventisti (1914-15)', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1995, pp. 77-87.
- Bagnoli, P., 'Piero Gobetti and the Liberal Revolution in Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1997, pp. 34-47.
- Battini, M., 'Note su Gramsci nel 1918-1920', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1978, pp. 354-78.
- Bellamy, R., 'Gramsci, Croce and the Italian Political Tradition', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1990, pp. 313-57.
- Berman, P., 'The Torch and the Axe. The Unknown aftermath of the Sacco-Vanzetti Affair', *The Village Voice*, 17 May 1988, pp. 17-20.
- Berta, G., 'Un caso di industrialismo sindacale: la FIOM del primo novecento', *Società e Storia*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1982, pp. 131-62.
- Berti, G., (editorial and introduction), 'Problemi del movimento operaio. Scritti critici e storici inediti di Angelo Tasca', *Annali della Biblioteca Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, vol. 10, 1968.
- Bertone, G., 'Parlare ai borghesi: De Amicis, il primo maggio e la propaganda socialista', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, 2nd series, vol. 3, nos 2/3 1980, pp. 155-73.
- Bergami, G., 'Una discussione sul giornale dei giovani socialisti: Gramsci e "La Città Futura"', *Almanacco Piemontese - Armanach Piemonteis*, vol. 3, 1979, pp. 65-9.
- Bologna, S., 'Class composition and the theory of the party at the origin of the workers councils movement', *Telos*, no. 13, 1972, pp. 57-83.
- Cannistraro, P. V., 'Mussolini, Sacco-Vanzetti and the Anarchists: The Transatlantic Context', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 68, no. 1, 1996, pp. 31-62.
- Caprioglio, S., 'Scritti sul fascismo di Antonio Gramsci', *Il Corpo*, no. 1, 1965, pp. 218-34.
- Carpi, U., 'Sovversivismo anti-borghese e borghesia sovversiva: Appunti

- sull'ideologia del primo futurismo', *Lavoro critico*, no. 25, January–April, 1982, pp. 5–38.
- Dadà, A., 'I radicali italo-americani e la società italiana', *Italia Contemporanea*, nos 146–147, 1982, pp. 131–40.
- Davidson, A., 'The Varying Seasons of Gramscian Studies', *Political Studies*, vol. 20, no. 4, 1972, pp. 468–81.
- De Felice, R., 'I fatti di Torino di Dicembre 1922', *Studi Storici*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1963, pp. 51–122.
- De Corato, S., 'Magistratura, anarchici e governo. La vicenda della banda del Matese', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1984, pp. 321–72.
- Dentoni, C., "'Questione alimentare" e "Questione Sociale" durante la prima guerra mondiale in Italia, *Società e Storia*, no. 37, 1987, pp. 607–36.
- Doglio, C., 'I consigli di fabbrica e il movimento dei lavoratori in Italia', *Volontà*, vol. 6, 1951, pp. 360–4, 424–7, 596–604.
- Dosio, C., 'Le origini del fascismo in provincia di Torino', *Studi Storici*, vol. 35, no. 1, 1994, pp. 183–206.
- Dunnage, J., 'Law and order in Giolittian Italy: A case study of the Province of Bologna', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 3, 1995, pp. 381–400.
- Foot, J. M., 'Socialist-Catholic Alliances and Gender. Work, War and the Family in Milan and Lombardy, 1914–1921', *Social History*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1996, pp. 37–53.
- Furiozzi, G. B., 'Sorel e gli anarchici italiani', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1975, pp. 179–88.
- , 'Polemiche tra sindacalisti rivoluzionari e anarchici italiani nell'età giolittiana', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1981, pp. 495–512.
- Garrani, S., 'Serrati negli Stati Uniti i giornalista sindacale e organizzatore degli emigrati italiani', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1984, pp. 321–45.
- Gerratana, V., 'Gramsci "Giornalista"', *Critica Marxista*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1968, pp. 171–8.
- Gervasoni, M., 'Il filo rosso della "inappartenenza": Berneri e Tasca', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1997, pp. 85–8.
- Giulietti, F., 'I gruppi anarchici "Barriera di Nizza" e "Barriera di Milano" nella rete della polizia fascista', *Rivista storica dell'anarchismo*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1997, pp. 47–67.
- Heevey, A and Geraets, E., 'Domela Nieuwenhuis e il movimento anarchico italiano 1890–1910', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1994, pp. 65–94.

- Imperato, T., 'Anarchici a Torino. Dario Cagna e Ilio Baroni nella Resistenza 1943-45', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1995, pp. 53-75.
- Isola, G., 'La ribalta socialista in Italia tra Otto e Novecento', *Ventesimo Secolo*, vol. 1, nos 2-3, 1991, pp. 387-411.
- Jalla, D., 'Le quartier comme territoire e comme représentation: les "barrières" ouvrières de Turin au debut du XX^e siècle', *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 118 1982, pp. 79-97.
- , "'Perché mio papà era un ferroviere ...". Una famiglia operaia torinese dei primi del novecento', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1980, pp. 37-65.
- Landi, G., 'Malatesta e Merlino dalla prima internazionale alla opposizione al fascismo', *Bollettino del Museo del Risorgimento*, vol. 38, 1983, pp. 121-56.
- Levy, C., 'Malatesta in Exile', *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, vol. 15, 1981, pp. 245-70.
- , 'A New Look at the Young Gramsci', *Boundary 2*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1986, pp. 31-48.
- , 'Antonio Gramsci', *Selections from Cultural Writings*, edited by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, transl. William Boelhower (London, 1985), *History of European Ideas*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1988, pp. 75-8.
- , 'The Italian Socialist Party and the Second International', *Labour History Review*, vol. 58, no. 1, 1993, pp. 18-25.
- , 'Malatesta in London: The Era of Dynamite', in Lucio Sponza and Arturo Tosi (eds), *A Century of Italian Emigration to Britain. 1880s to 1980s. Five Essays*, supplement to *The Italianist*, vol. 13, 1993, pp. 25-42.
- , 'Charisma and Social Movements: Errico Malatesta and Italian Anarchism', *Modern Italy*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1998, pp. 205-17.
- Maier, C., 'Between Taylorism and Technocracy', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1970, pp. 27-61.
- Malatesta, M., 'Gramsci e il sindacalismo rivoluzionario. Riflessioni sul rapporto tra analisi storiografica e giudizio di valore', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1981, pp. 327-57.
- Martin, J., 'Hegemony and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Gramsci', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1997, pp. 137-56.
- Martinelli, R., 'Una polemica del 1921 e l'esordio di Gramsci sull'Avanti! torinese', *Critica Marxista*, vol. 10, no. 5, 1972, pp. 149-68.
- Masini, P. C., 'Camillo Berneri collaboratore di Rivoluzione Liberale', *Volontà*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1947, pp. 30-4.

- , 'Gli anarchici italiani e la Rivoluzione Russa', *Rivista Storica del Socialismo*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1962, pp. 135–69.
- Monteleone, R., 'Socialisti o "Ciucialiter"? Il PSI e il destino delle osterie tra sociabilità e alcoolismo', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1985, pp. 3–22.
- Morabito, G., 'Antonio Gramsci e l'idealismo giuridico italiano. Due tesi a confronto', *Storia e Politica*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1979, pp. 744–55.
- Morris, J., 'Retailers, Fascism and the Origins of Social Protection of Shopkeepers in Italy', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1996, pp. 285–318.
- Musso, S., 'Political Tensions and Labor Union Struggle: Working-Class Conflict in Turin During and After the First World War', L. Haimson and G. Sapelli (eds), Haimson, L. and Sapelli, G. (eds), *Strikes, Social Conflict and the First World War, Annali della Biblioteca Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, vol. 27, 1990/91, pp. 213–43.
- Nield, K. and Seed, J., 'Waiting for Gramsci', *Social History*, vol. 6, no. 6, 1981, pp. 209–27.
- Nurse-Bray, P., 'Malatesta and the anarchist revolution', *Anarchist Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1995, pp. 25–44.
- Oliva, G., 'Un'iniziativa antimilitarista alla vigilia della Grande Guerra. La "cassa per il soldo del soldato"', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1989, pp. 257–60.
- Ortaggi, S., 'Cottimi e produttività nell'industria italiana del primo Novecento', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 7, 1978, pp. 161–99.
- , 'Padronato e classe operaia a Torino negli anni 1906–1911', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1979, pp. 321–66.
- Paggi, L., 'La "redazione culturale" del Grido del popolo', *Critica Marxista*, Quaderno 3, 1967, pp. 154–74.
- Passerini, L., 'Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 8, 1979, pp. 82–108.
- Pernicone, N., 'Luigi Galleani and Italian Terrorism in the United States', *Studi Emigrazione*, vol. 30, Sept. 1993, pp. 469–88.
- Petracchi, G., 'Il mito della rivoluzione sovietica in Italia 1917–1920', *Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 21, no. 6, 1990, pp. 1107–30.
- Piccone, P., 'From Spaventa to Gramsci', *Telos*, no. 31, 1977, pp. 35–66.
- , 'Labriola and the roots of Eurocommunism', *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, vol. 12, 1977–78, pp. 3–48.
- Pick, D., 'The faces of anarchy: Lombroso and the politics of criminal science in Post-Unification Italy', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 21, 1986, pp. 60–86.

- Portelli, H., 'Jacobinisme et antijacobinisme de Gramsci', *Dialectiques*, nos 4-5, 1974, pp. 28-43.
- Pivato, S., 'L'anticlericalismo "religioso" nel socialismo italiano fra ottocento e novecento', *Italia Contemporanea*, no. 154, 1984, pp. 29-50.
- Procacci, G., 'Antonio Labriola e la revisione del marxismo attraverso l'epistolario con Bernstein e con Kautsky, 1895-1904', *Annali della Biblioteca Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, vol. 3, 1960, pp. 264-341.
- Procacci, Giovanna, 'Popular protest and labour conflict in Italy, 1915-1918', *Social History*, vol. 4, 1989, no. 1, pp. 31-58.
- Pucci, I., 'L'affare Sandomirsky-Malatesta', *Volontà*, vol. 28, no. 3, 1975, p. 203-10.
- Puccini, M., 'L'università popolare e la Scuola Moderna in Italia', *Volontà*, vols. 24-5, 1970-71, pp. 214-19; 296-310; 311-15; 369-84; 459-62.
- Rapone, L., 'Tra Vichy e la Resistenza', *Studi Storici*, vol. 38, no. 4, 1997, pp. 1195-203.
- Revelli, M., 'Maurizio Garino: Storia di un anarchico', *Mezzosecolo*, 7, 1981, pp. 51-80.
- Rosada, M. G., 'Biblioteche popolari e politica culturale del PSI tra Ottocento e Novecento', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, 2nd series, vol. 1, no. 2, 1977, pp. 259-88.
- Rossi, P., 'Antonio Gramsci sulla scienza moderna', *Critica Marxista*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1976, pp. 41-60.
- Rutigliano, E., 'The Ideology of Labor and Capitalist Rationality in Gramsci', *Telos*, no. 31, 1977, pp. 91-9.
- Sacchetti, G., 'Resistenza e guerra sociale. Il movimento anarchico e la lotta di liberazione 1943-1945', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1995, pp. 5-27.
- , 'Controllo sociale e domicilio coatto nell'Italia crispina', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1996, pp. 93-104.
- Schechter, D., 'Two Views of the Revolution: Gramsci and Sorel, 1916-1920', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 12, no. 5, 1990, pp. 636-53.
- , 'Gramsci, Gentile and the Theory of the Ethical State in Italy', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1990, pp. 491-501.
- Scavino, M., 'Bernerì, Gobetti e la rivoluzione italiana', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1997, pp. 75-84.
- Secchia, P. (editorial and introduction), 'L'azione svolta del partito comunista in Italia durante il fascismo 1926-1932', *Annali della Biblioteca Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, vol. 11, 1969.

- Soave, E., 'Appunti sulle origini teoriche e pratiche dei consigli di fabbrica a Torino', *Rivista Storica del Socialismo*, vol. 7, no. 21, 1964, pp. 1–20.
- Spriano, P., 'Gramsci, il fascismo e gli "Arditi del Popolo"', *Critica Marxista*, Quaderno 3, 1967, pp. 175–99.
- Telò, M., 'Strategia consigliare e sviluppo capitalistico in Gramsci', *Problemi del Socialismo*, vol. 7, 1976, pp. 221–44.
- Tobia, B., 'Il partito socialista e la politica di W. Wilson (1916–1919)', *Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 6, 1974, pp. 275–303.
- Tognarini, I., 'Giacobinismo e bolscevismo: Albert Mathiez e *L'Ordine Nuovo*', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 6, 1976, pp. 523–49.
- Tomassini, L., 'Classe operaia e organizzazione sindacale durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale: La Camera del Lavoro di Firenze, 1917–1918', *Ricerche Storiche*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1979, pp. 259–374.
- , 'Industrial Mobilization and State Intervention in Italy in the First World War: Effects on Labor Unrest', in L. Haimson and G. Sapelli (eds), *Strikes, Social Conflicts and the First World War, Annali Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli*, vol. 27, 1990/91, pp. 179–211.
- Venturi, A., 'Tra propaganda sovietica e immaginario socialista. Le impressioni italiane del viaggio in Russia', *Movimento Operaio e Socialista*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1985, pp. 363–91.
- Viglongo, A., 'Momenti della lotta di classe nella prima metà del 1920', *Il Ponte*, 31 October 1970, pp. 1304–22.
- Williams, R. C., 'Collective Immortality: The Syndicalist Origins of Proletarian Culture, 1905–1910', *Slavic Review*, vol. 39, 1980, pp. 389–402.
- Zane, M., 'Anarchici di quartiere. Antifascismo e vita quotidiana nel quartiere industriale Campo Fiera di Brescia', *Rivista Storica dell'Anarchismo*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1995, pp. 29–56.
- Zucaro, R., 'I socialisti e l'origine di Giustizia e Libertà in Italia: Il gruppo torinese di *Voci di Officina*', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, vol. 4, 1972, pp. 573–600.

(ii) *Books, Chapters of Books and Monographs*

- Abrate, M., *La lotta sindacale nell'industrializzazione in Italia (1906–1926)*, Milan, 1967.
- Adamson, W., *Hegemony and Revolution. A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory*, Berkeley, 1980.
- , *Avant-Garde Florence From Modernism to Fascism*, Cambridge, MA, 1993.
- Adler, F., *Italian Industrialists from Liberalism to Fascism, 1906–1934*, Cambridge, 1995.

- Agosti, A., 'Il Partito Comunista a Torino dalla fondazione alle leggi eccezionali', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo, *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, Vol. 3, *Gli anni del fascismo, l'antifascismo e la resistenza*, Turin, 1980, pp. 15–69.
- , 'Le correnti costitutive del comunismo internazionale', in E. J. Hobsbawm (ed.), *Storia del marxismo*, Turin, 1980, Vol. 3, pt. i, pp. 330–60.
- , *Palmiro Togliatti*, Turin, 1996.
- Allio, R., Gera, B., Levi, G., Monteleone, R. and Oliva, G., *Il tempo del riposo. Squarci di vita sociale del proletariato torinese di fine secolo*, Milan, 1991.
- Andreucci, F. and Detti, T. (eds), *Il movimento operaio italiano. Dizionario biografico*, vols 1–4, Rome, 1975–8.
- Antliff, M., *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde*, Princeton, 1993.
- Antonioli, M., 'Dalla lega di mestiere alla federazione d'industria (1898–1914)', in M. Antonioli and B. Bezza (eds), *La FIOM dalle origini al fascismo, 1901–1926*, Bari, 1978, pp. 9–80.
- , *Sindacato e progresso: la FIOM tra immagine e realtà (1901–1914)*, Milan, 1983.
- , *Armando Borghi e l'Unione Sindacale Italiano*, Manduria, 1990.
- , 'Errico Malatesta, l'organizzazione operaia e il sindacalismo (1889–1914)', Maurizio Antonioli, *Azione diretta e organizzazione operaia. Sindacalismo rivoluzionario e anarchismo tra la fine dell'Ottocento e il fascismo*, Manduria, 1990, pp. 203–63.
- , 'USI ultimo atto: Il congresso nazionale di Genova (28–29 giugno 1925)', in M. Antonioli, *Azione diretta e anarchismo tra la fine dell'Ottocento e il fascismo*, Manduria, 1990, pp. 165–201.
- , *Pietro Gori, il cavaliere errante dell'anarchia. Studi e testi*, Pisa, 1995.
- , 'Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario italiano', in M. Antonioli, *Il sindacalismo italiano dalle origini al fascismo*, Pisa, 1997, pp. 125–156.
- Antonioli, M. and Bezza, B. (eds), *La FIOM dalle origini al fascismo, 1901–1926*, Bari, 1978.
- Antonioli, M., Bernardi, R. and CheccoZZo, G. (eds), *Il sindacato ferroviari italiani dalle origini al fascismo 1907–1925*, Milan, 1994.
- Armeni, R. and Piva, P., *Noi vivremo del lavoro*, Rome, 1980.
- Asor Rosa, A., *Scrittori e popolo*, vols 1–2, Rome, 1966.
- , 'La cultura', in R. Romano and C. Vivanti (eds), *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 4, pt. ii, Turin, 1975.

- Atti del Convegno di studio Camillo Berneri, *Biografie*, Carrara, 1979.
- Audenino, P., 'Dati strutturali sulla classe operaia all'inizio del novecento', in A. Agosti and G.M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte. L'età giolittiana la guerra e il dopoguerra*, vol. 2, Bari, 1979, pp. 9-42.
- , 'La cultura socialista: Un nuovo sistema di valori', in V. Castronovo (ed.), *La cassetta degli strumenti*, Milan, 1986.
- , 'Non più eterna iloti: valori e modelli della pedagogia socialista', in L. Rossi (ed.), *Cultura, istruzione e socialismo nell'età giolittiana*, Milan, 1991, pp. 37-54.
- Avrich, P., *The Modern School Movement*, Princeton, 1980.
- , *Anarchist Portraits*, Princeton, 1988.
- , *Sacco and Vanzetti. The Anarchist Background*, Princeton, 1991.
- , *Anarchist Voices. An Oral History of Anarchism in America*, Princeton, 1995.
- Badaloni, N., *Il marxismo di Gramsci*, Turin, 1975.
- , 'Libertà individuale e uomo collettivo in Gramsci', in F. Ferri (ed.), *Politica e storia in Gramsci*, vol. 1, Rome, 1977, pp. 9-60.
- Bagnoli, P., *Carlo Rosselli tra pensiero politico e azione*, Florence, 1985.
- Barrow, L., *Independent Spirits. Spiritualism and English Plebeians, 1850-1910*, London, 1986.
- Bell, D. A., *Sesto San Giovanni: Workers, Culture and Politics in an Italian Town, 1880-1922*, New Brunswick, 1986.
- Bellamy, R., *Modern Italian Social Theory: ideology and politics from Pareto to the present*, Cambridge, 1987.
- , *Liberalism and Modern Society*, Cambridge, 1992.
- Bellamy, R. and Schecter, D., *Gramsci and the Italian State*, Manchester, 1993.
- Bellomi, P. P., 'Lotta di classe e sindacalismo a Torino 1898-1910', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, Vol. 2, *L'età giolittiana la guerra e la dopoguerra*, Turin, 1979, pp. 43-137.
- Berghaus, G., *Futurism and Politics. Between Anarchist Rebellion and Fascist Reaction, 1909-1944*, Providence, 1996.
- Bergami, G., *Il giovane Gramsci e il marxismo: 1911-1918*, Milan, 1977.
- Bermani, C., *L'altra cultura*, Milan, 1970.
- , 'Letteratura e vita nazionale. Le "osservazioni" sul folclore', in A. Agazzi, S. Merli, R. Guastini, A. Mangano, R. Levvero, E. Agazzi, C. Pavone, A. Tomioli, C. Bermani, S. Studer and R. Luperini, *Gramsci un'eredità contrastata*, Milan, 1979, pp. 94-103.
- ¹ Berneri, C., *L'operaiolatria*, Brest, 1934.

- Berra, M., *L'etica del lavoro nella cultura italiana dall'unità a Giolitti*, Milan, 1981.
- Berta, G., 'Dalla manifattura al sistema di fabbrica: razionalizzazione e conflitti di lavoro', in *Storia d'Italia. Annali I*, Turin, 1978.
- , 'The Interregnum: Turin, Fiat and Industrial Conflict between War and Fascism', in C. Wrigley (ed.), *Challenges of Labour. Central and Western Europe 1917–1920*, London, 1993, pp. 105–24.
- , 'La cooperazione impossibile: La Fiat, Torino e il 'biennio rosso'', G. Berta (ed.), *Fiat 1899–1930*, Milan, 1997, pp. 205–47.
- Berti, G., *Francesco Saverio Merlino. Dall'anarchismo socialista al socialismo liberale*, Milan, 1993.
- Bertolo, G. (ed.), *Torino tra le guerre. Cultura e vita quotidiana in Borgo San Paolo*, Turin, 1978.
- Bertrand, C., 'Revolutionary Syndicalism in Italy', in M. van den Linden and W. Thorpe (eds), *Revolutionary Syndicalism. An International Perspective*, Aldershot, 1990, pp. 139–54.
- Bessel, R., *Germany after the First World War*, Oxford, 1993.
- Bettini, L., *Bibliografia dell'anarchismo*, Florence, vol. 1, 1972; vol. 2, 1976.
- Bezza, B., 'Il sindacato di massa tra riorganizzazione capitalista e fascismo (1915–1925)', in M. Antonioli and B. Bezza (eds), *La FIOM dalle origini al fascismo, 1901–1926*, Bari, 1978 pp. 81–152.
- , *Salario e cannoni. Tra la fabbrica e il fronte durante la grande guerra*, Rome, 1986.
- , 'Social Characteristics, Attitudes, and Patterns of Strike Behaviour of the Metalworkers in Italy During the First World War', in L. Haimson and C. Tilly (eds), *Strikes, Wars and Revolutions in an International Perspective. Strike Waves in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 402–29.
- Bianconi, P., *Gli anarchici italiani nella lotta contro il fascismo*, Pistoia, 1988.
- Bigazzi, D., 'Management Strategies in the Italian Car Industry 1906–1925: Fiat and Alfa Romeo', in S. Tolliday and J. Zeitlin (eds), *The Automobile Industry and its Workers, Between Fordism and Flexibility*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 76–96.
- , *Il Portello. Operai, tecnici e imprenditori all'Alfa Romeo, 1906–1926*, Milan, 1988.
- Boatti, G and Catone, A. (eds), *Gramsci e la critica dell'americanismo*, Milan, 1989.
- Bocca, G., *Palmiro Togliatti*, Bari, 1973.
- Bocock, R., *Hegemony*, Chicester, 1986.

- Boggs, C., *Gramsci's Marxism*, London, 1976.
- , *The Two Revolutions: Gramsci and the Dilemmas of Western Marxism*, Boston, 1984.
- Bolloten, B., *The Spanish Civil Revolution and Counterevolution*, New York, 1991.
- Bonetti, P., *Gramsci e la società liberaldemocratica*, Bari, 1980.
- Borghi, A., *Mezzo secolo di anarchia*, Naples, 1954.
- Bracco, F., 'Il giovane Gramsci e Sorel', in V. Comparato (ed.), *Georges Sorel. Studi e ricerche*, Florence, 1974, pp. 177–95.
- Broccoli, A., *Antonio Gramsci e l'educazione come egemonia*, Florence, 1972.
- Buci-Glucksmann, C., 'State, Transition and Passive Revolution', in C. Mouffe (ed.), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London, 1979.
- Bulferetti, L., *Lombroso*, Turin, 1975.
- Camarada, A. and Peli, S., *L'altro esercito. La classe operaia durante la prima guerra mondiale*, Milan, 1980.
- Cammett, J. M., *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism*, Stanford, 1967.
- , *A Bibliography of the Works of Antonio Gramsci: Published in 27 Languages 1930–1997*, Rome, 1997.
- Camparini, A., 'Lotte sociali e organizzazioni femminili 1880–1926', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, Vol. 2, *L'età giolittiana la guerra e il dopoguerra*, Bari, 1979, pp. 437–67.
- Candeloro, G., *Storia d'Italia moderna*, vol. 6, Milan, 1970.
- Canosa, R. and Santusuosso, A., *Magistrati anarchici e socialisti alla fine dell'ottocento in Italia*, Milan, 1981.
- Carcano, G., *Strage a Torino*, Milan, 1973.
- , *Cronaca di una rivolta. I moti torinesi del '17*, Turin, 1977.
- Cardoza, A. L., *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy. The Piedmontese Nobility, 1861–1930*, Cambridge, 1997.
- Caretti, S., *La Rivoluzione Russa e il socialismo italiano: 1917–1921*, Pisa, 1974.
- Carpi, U., *La Voce: letteratura e primato degli intellettuali*, Bari, 1975.
- Cartiglia, C., *Rinaldo Rigola e il sindacalismo riformista in Italia*, Milan, 1979.
- Castronovo, V., *Storia delle regioni. Il Piemonte*, Turin, 1977.
- , *Giovanni Agnelli. La Fiat dal 1899 al 1945*, Turin, 1977 edition.
- Catone, A., 'Gramsci, la tradizione socialista e il problema della mancata ricezione del marxismo', in R. Giacomini, D. Losurdo, and M. Martelli (eds), *Gramsci and l'Italia*, Urbino, 1994, pp. 243–76.

- Cavallari, L., *Classi dirigenti e minoranze rivoluzionarie. Il protomarxismo italiano: Arturo Labriola, Enrico Leone, Cesare Longobardi*, Naples, 1983.
- Cerrito, G., *L'antimilitarismo anarchico in Italia nel primo ventennio del secolo*, Pistoia, 1968.
- , 'L'emigrazione libertaria italiana in Francia nel ventennio fra le due guerre', in B. Bezza (ed.), *Gli italiani fuori D'Italia. Gli emigrati italiani nei movimenti operai dei paesi d'adozione*, Milan, pp. 831–911.
- Cerroni, U., 'Universalità & politica', in F. Ferri (ed.), *Politica e storia in Gramsci*, vol. I, Rome, 1977, pp. 127–60.
- Cherchi, G. S., *Togliatti a Sassari, 1908–1911*, Rome, 1972.
- Chiti, L., *Cultura e politica nelle riviste fiorentine del primo novecento 1903–1915*, Turin, 1972.
- Cingari, G and Fedele, S. (eds), *Il socialismo nel mezzogiorno d'Italia 1892–1926*, Bari, 1992.
- Cirese, A., 'Gramsci's observations on Folklore', in A. Showstack Sassoon (ed.), *Approaches to Gramsci*, London, 1982, pp. 212–47.
- Ciuffoletti, Z., *Storia del PSI. I. Le origini e l'età giolittiana*, Bari, 1992.
- Clark, M., *Antonio Gramsci and the Revolution that Failed*, New Haven/London, 1977.
- Codello, F., *Educazione e anarchismo. L'idea educativa nel movimento anarchico italiano (1900–1926)*, Ferrara, 1995.
- Corner, P. and Procacci, Giovanna, 'The Italian Experience of 'Total' Mobilization 1915–1920', in J. Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 223–40.
- Cross, G., *A Quest for Time. The Reduction of Work in Britain and France, 1840–1940*, Berkeley, 1989.
- Dadà, A., 'Gli anarchici italiani fra guerra di classe e reazione', in P. Alatri (ed.), *Storia della società italiana. La disgregazione dello Stato liberale*, vol. 21, Milan, 1982, pp. 375–406.
- , *L'anarchismo in Italia: fra movimento e partito. Storia e documenti dell'anarchismo italiano*, Milan, 1984.
- Dal Pane, L., *Antonio Labriola nella politica e nella cultura italiana*, Turin, 1975, 2nd edition.
- Damiani, F., 'Il sindacato ferrovieri italiani dal congresso di Bologna allo scioglimento della CGdL', in M. Antonioli, R. Bernardi and G. Checcozzo (eds), *Il sindacato ferrovieri italiani dalle origini al fascismo 1907–1925*, Milan, 1994, pp. 293–335.
- Davidson, A., *Antonio Gramsci: Towards an Intellectual Biography*, London, 1977.

- Davis, J. A., *Conflict and Control. Law and Order in 19th Century Italy*, Basingstoke, 1988.
- , 'Socialism and the Working Class in Italy', in D. Geary (ed.), *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 182–250.
- De Clementi, A., *Amadeo Bordiga*, Turin, 1971.
- , *Politica e sociale nel sindacalismo rivoluzionario 1900–1915*, Rome, 1983.
- De Felice, F., De Felice, F., 'Revolution and Production', in A. Showstack-Sassoon, *Approaches to Gramsci*, London, 1982.
- De Grand, A. J., *In Stalin's Shadow: Angelo Tasca and the Crisis of the Left in Italy and France, 1910–1945*, De Kalb, 1986.
- , 'Giolitti and the Socialists', in S. Di Scala (ed.), *Italian Socialism. Between Politics and History*, Amherst, MA, 1996, pp. 23–37.
- Degli'Innocenti, M., *Il socialismo italiano e la guerra di Libia*, Rome, 1976.
- , *Geografia e istituzioni del socialismo italiano 1892–1914*, Naples, 1983.
- , 'Il farsi popolo degli impiegati', in M. Degli'Innocenti, *Geografia e istituzioni del socialismo italiano 1892–1914*, Naples, 1983, pp. 169–73.
- Del Carria, R., *Proletari senza rivoluzione*, vol. 3, Rome, 1976.
- Delzell, C., *Mussolini's Enemies*, Princeton, 1961.
- Dewerpe, A., 'The Last Paradigm: An Italian Metalworking Empire Between Competing Models of Producers, 1900–1920', in C.F. Sabel and J. Zeitlin (eds), *Words of Possibilities*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 273–309.
- Di Scala, S. (ed.), *Italian Socialism. Between Politics and History*, Amherst, MA, 1996.
- Dubla, F., *Gramsci e la fabbrica: produzione, tecnica e organizzazione del lavoro nel pensiero gramsciano*, Manduria, 1986.
- Entwistle, H., *Antonio Gramsci. Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics*, London, 1979.
- Fabbri, L., *Malatesta, l'uomo e pensiero*, Naples, 1951.
- Fabbri, Luce, *Luigi Fabbri. Storia d'un uomo libero*, Pisa, 1996.
- Favilli, P., *Storia del marxismo italiano. Dalle origini all'grande guerra*, Milan, 1996.
- Fedele, S., *Una breve illusione. Gli anarchici italiani e la Russia Sovietica 1917–1939*, Milan, 1996.
- Fedele, S. and Madrid Santos, F., 'Stato e burocrazia: il potere nel pensiero di Camillo Berneri', Archivio Famiglia Berneri (ed.), *Camillo Berneri nel cinquanteanno della morte*, Pistoia, 1986.

- Fedeli, U., *Un trentennio di attività anarchica*, Forlì, 1953.
- , *Luigi Galleani. Quarant'anni di lotta (1891–1931)*, Cesena, 1956.
- Fedi, R., *Cultura letteraria e società civile in Italia unita*, Pisa, 1984.
- Feeley, F., *The French Anarchist Movement and La Vie Ouvrière: 1909–1914*, New York, 1991.
- Femia, J., *Gramsci's Political Thought*, Oxford, 1981.
- Feri, P., *Il movimento anarchico in Italia (1944–1950). Dalla resistenza alla ricostruzione*, Rome, 1978.
- Ferri, F. (ed.), *Politica e storia in Gramsci*, vols 1 and 2, Rome, 1977.
- Finochiario, M.A., *Gramsci and the History of Dialectical Thought*, Cambridge, 1988.
- Fiori, G., *Vita di Antonio Gramsci*, Bari, 1966 (English translation by Tom Nairn), *Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary*, London, 1970.
- , *L'anarchico Schirru condannato a morte per l'intenzione di uccidere Mussolini*, Milan, 1983.
- Forbice, A., *La forza tranquilla. Bruno Buozzi, sindacalista riformista*, Milan, 1994.
- Furiozzi, G. B., *Sorel e L'Italia*, Florence/Messina, 1976.
- , *Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario italiano*, Milan, 1977.
- Gallagher, D., *All the Right Enemies: The Life and Murder of Carlo Tresca*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1987.
- Galzerano, G., 'Attentati anarchici a Mussolini', in G. Manfredonia (ed.) *L'antifascismo rivoluzionario*, Pisa, 1992.
- Garosci, A., *Storia dei fuorusciti*, Bari, 1953.
- , *Pensiero politico e storiografia moderna*, Pisa, 1954.
- Gentile, E., *La Voce e l'età giolittiana*, Milan, 1974.
- Germino, D., *Antonio Gramsci. Architect of a New Politics*, Baton Rouge, 1990.
- Giacomini, R., *Antimilitarismo e pacifismo nel primo novecento. Ezio Bartolini e 'La Pace', 1903–1918*, Milan, 1991.
- Giacomini, R., Losurdo, D. and Martelli, M. (eds), *Gramsci e l'Italia: Atti del convegno internazionale di Urbino 24–25 gennaio 1992*, Naples, 1994.
- Gianinazzi, W., *L'itinerario di Enrico Leone*, Milan, 1989.
- Ginsborg, P., 'Gramsci and the Era of Bourgeois Revolutions in Italy', in J. A. Davis (ed.), *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution*, London, 1979, pp. 31–66.
- Goisis, G. L., 'Gramsci e Sorel', in V. Melchiorre, C. Vigna and G. De Rosa, *Antonio Gramsci e il pensiero teorico e politico: la questione leninista*, Rome, 1979, pp. 70–90.

- Gramsci, A., *Socialismo e fascismo. L'Ordine Nuovo 1921-1922*, Turin, 1966.
- , *La costruzione del Partito Comunista, 1923-1926*, Turin, 1971.
- , *Quaderni del carcere* (edited by Valentino Gerratana), Vols. 1-4, Turin, 1975.
- , *Scritti 1915-1921* (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Milan, 1976.
- , *Selections from Political Writings 1910-1920* (selected and edited by Quintin Hoare, translated by John Matthews), London, 1977.
- , *Selections from Political Writings 1921-1926* (selected and edited by Quintin Hoare), London, 1978.
- , *Cronache torinesi* (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Turin, 1980.
- , *La città futura: 1917-1918* (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Turin, 1982.
- , *Il nostro Marx: 1918-1919* (edited by Sergio Caprioglio), Turin, 1984.
- , *Selections from Cultural Writings* (edited by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and translated by William Boelhower), London, 1985.
- , *L'Ordine Nuovo 1919-1920* (edited by Valentino Gerratana and Antonio A. Santucci), Turin, 1987.
- , *Pre-Prison Writings* (edited by Richard Bellamy and transl. by Virginia Cox), Cambridge, 1994.
- Grandinetti, M., 'Movimento sindacale e politica socialista a Torino negli ultimi anni dell'Ottocento', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, vol. 1, *Dall'età preindustriale alla fine dell'Ottocento*, Bari, 1979, pp. 329-71.
- Gribaudi, M., *Mondo operaio e mito operaio*, Turin, 1987.
- Guerra, A., 'Storicismo ed etica libertaria nel giovane Gramsci', P. Rossi (ed.), *Gramsci e la cultura contemporanea*, vol. 2, Rome, 1969, pp. 129-45.
- Gundle, S., 'The Legacy of the Prison Notebooks. Gramsci, the PCI and Italian Culture in the Cold War', in C. Duggan and C. Wagstaff (eds), *Italy in the Cold War. Politics, Culture and Society 1948-1958*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 131-47.
- Hoffman, J., *The Gramscian Challenge: Coercion and Consent in Marxist Political Theory*, Oxford, 1984.
- Hostetter, R., *The Italian Socialist Movement, Origins (1860-1882)*, New York, 1958.
- Hughes, H. S., *Consciousness and Society*, Brighton, 1981.
- Istituto Gramsci, *Studi gramsciani: Atti del convegno tenuto a Roma nei giorni 11-13 gennaio 1958*, Rome, 1958.

- Jacobitti, E. E., *Revolutionary Humanism and Historicism in Modern Italy*, New Haven, 1981.
- Jalla, D. and Musso, S., *Territorio, fabbrica e cultura operaia a Torino (1900-1945)*, Cuneo, 1981.
- Jensen, R. B., *Liberty and Order. The Theory and Practice of Italian Public Security Policy: 1848 to the Crisis of the 1890s*, New York, 1991.
- Jocteau, G. C., *Leggere Gramsci: Una guida alle interpretazioni*, Milan, 1975.
- Joll, J., 'Anarchism between Communism and Individualism', in Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, *Anarchismo e anarchia nel mondo contemporanea*, Turin, 1971, pp. 269-84.
- , *Antonio Gramsci*, London, 1977.
- Kaplan, T., *Red City, Blue Period. Social Movements in Picasso's Barcelona*, Berkeley, 1992.
- Kirby, D., *War, Peace and Revolution. International Socialism at the Crossroads 1914-1918*, London, 1986.
- Kolakowski, L., 'Antonio Gramsci: Communist Revisionism', in *Main Currents of Marxism*, vol. 3, Oxford, 1978, pp. 220-51.
- Kriegel, A., *Aux origines du communisme français, 1914-1920*, vol. 1, Paris, 1964.
- , 'La crisi rivoluzionaria 1919-20: ipotesi per la costruzione di un modello', in A. Agosti (ed.), *Problemi di storia dell'Internazionale Comunista (1919-1939)*, Turin, 1974, pp. 23-34.
- La Valle, D., *Le origini della classe operaia della FIAT*, Rome, 1976.
- Lacaita, C., *Sviluppo e cultura: alle origini dell'Italia industriale*, Milan, 1984.
- Landuyt, A., *Le sinistre e l'Aventino*, Milan, 1972.
- Larizza Lotti, M., 'L'antifascismo democratico: vicende, figure e dibattiti', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, Vol. 3, *Gli anni del fascismo, l'antifascismo e la resistenza*, Bari, 1980, pp. 225-70.
- Leonetti, A., *Note sul Gramsci*, Urbino, 1970.
- , *Un comunista 1895/1930*, Milan, 1978.
- , *Vittime italiane dello stalinismo in URSS*, Milan, 1978.
- Levi, G., 'Associazionismo operaio a Torino (1890-1926)' in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, vol. 2, *Dall'età preindustriale alla fine dell'Ottocento*, Bari, 1979, pp. 481-550.
- , *Cultura e associazioni operaie in Piemonte: 1890-1975*, Milan, 1985.
- Levy, C., 'Socialism and the Educated Middle Classes in Western Europe,

- 1970-1914', in R. Eyerman, L. G. Svensson and T. Söderqvist (eds), *Intellectuals, Universities and the State in Western Modern Societies*, Berkeley, 1987, pp. 154-91.
- , 'Max Weber and Antonio Gramsci', in W. Mommsen and J. Osterhammel (eds), *Max Weber and his Contemporaries*, London, 1987, pp. 382-402.
- (ed.), *Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880-1914*, London, 1987.
- , 'Italian Anarchism, 1870-1926', in D. Goodway (ed.), *For Anarchism: Historical and Theoretical Approaches*, London, 1989, pp. 24-78.
- Lisanti, N., 'La nascita del movimento operaio (1815-1860)', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, vol. 1, *Dall'età preindustriale alla fine dell'Ottocento*, Bari, 1979, pp. 219-68.
- Livorsi, F., *Amadeo Bordiga*, Rome, 1976.
- , 'Il socialismo in Piemonte dalla grande guerra all'occupazione delle fabbriche', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, vol. 2, *L'età Giolittiana la guerra e il dopoguerra*, Bari, 1979, pp. 349-417.
- Lo Piparo, F., *Lingua intellettuale egemonia in Gramsci*, Bari, 1979.
- Losurdo, D., *Antonio Gramsci dal liberalismo al comunismo critico*, Rome, 1997.
- Lotti, L., *La settimana rossa*, Florence, 1972.
- Madrid Santos, F., *Camillo Berneri, un anarchico italiano (1897-1937). Rivoluzione e controrivoluzione in Europa (1917-1937)*, Pistoia, 1985.
- Maione, G., *Il biennio rosso. Autonomia e spontaneità operaia nel 1919-1920*, Bologna, 1975.
- Malatesta, E., *Pagine di lotta quotidiana Scritti*, 1° Volume. *Umanità Nova 1920/22*; 2° Volume. *Umanità Nova e scritti vari 1919/1923*; 3° Volume. *Pensiero e Volontà e ultimi scritti 1924/1932*, Carrara, 1975 reprint.
- Mandracci, V. C., *Torino*, Bari, 1983.
- Manfredonia, G., *La lutte humaine. Luigi Fabbri, le mouvement anarchiste italien e la lutte contre le fascisme*, Paris, 1994.
- Manfredonia, G. (ed.), *La resistenza sconosciuta. Gli anarchici contro il fascismo. I giornali anarchici clandestini 1943-45*, Milan, 1995.
- Manna, E., 'Origini del fascismo a Torino (1919-1926)', in U. Levra and N. Tranfaglia (eds), *Torino fra liberalismo e fascismo*, Milan, 1987, pp. 237-373.
- Mantovani, V., *Mazurka blu. La strage del Diana*, Milan, 1979.
- Marshall, P., *Demanding the Impossible. A History of Anarchism*, London, 1992.

- Martelli, M., 'Gramsci e la democrazia consiliare, in Giacomini, R., Losurdo, D. and Martelli, M. (eds), *Gramsci e l'Italia: Atti del convegno internazionale di Urbino 24-25 gennaio 1992*, Naples, 1994.
- Martinelli, R., *Il Partito Comunista D'Italia 1921-1926*, Rome, 1977.
- Marucco, D., *Arturo Labriola e il sindacalismo rivoluzionario in Italia*, Turin, 1970.
- , 'Processi anarchici a Torino tra il 1892 ed il 1894' in Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, *Anarchismo e anarchica nel mondo contemporanea*, Turin, 1971, pp. 217-41.
- Masini, P. C., *Anarchici e comunisti nel movimento del consigli a Torino (Primo dopoguerra 1919-1920)*, Turin, 1951.
- , *Antonio Gramsci e l'Ordine Nuovo vista da un libertario*, Milan, 1956.
- , *Carlo Cafiero*, Milan, 1974.
- , *Storia degli anarchici italiani dal Bakunin a Malatesta (1862-1892)*, Milan, 1974.
- , 'Bakunin in Italia. Mezzo secolo di ricerche e di dibattiti (1876-1926), in Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Bakuniani, *Bakunin cento anni dopo*, Milan, 1977, pp. 12-42.
- , 'La Formazione intellettuale e politica di Camillo Berneri', in Atti del Convegno di studio Camillo Berneri, *Biografie*, Carrara, 1979, pp. 7-20.
- , *Storia degli anarchici italiani nell'epoca degli attentati*, Milan, 1981.
- Mastrianni, G., *Vico e la rivoluzione. Gramsci e il diamat*, Pisa, 1979.
- Molinari, E., *I fattori economici per il successo della rivoluzione sociale*, Milan, 1920.
- Montagnana, M., *Ricordi di un operaio torinese (sotto la guida di Gramsci)*, Rome, 1952.
- Montaldi, D., *Militanti politici di base*, Turin, 1971.
- Morris, J., *The Political Economy of Shopkeeping in Milan 1886-1922*, Cambridge, 1993.
- Mouffe, C. (ed.), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London, 1979.
- Murtaugh, M., *Italian Labor in Protest, 1904-1914*, New York, 1991.
- Musso, S., *Gli operai di Torino 1900-1920*, Milan, 1980.
- , 'Il cottimo come razionalizzazione. Mutamenti organizzativi, conflittualità e regolamentazione contrattuale dei rapporti tra salario e rendimento nell'industria meccanica (1910-1940)', in U. Levra and N. Tranfaglia (eds), *Torino fra liberalismo e fascismo*, Milan, 1987, pp. 119-235.
- , *La gestione della forza lavoro sotto il fascismo*, Milan, 1987.

- , 'Operai e cultura del lavoro nell'Ordine Nuovo', in F. Sbarberi (ed.), *Teoria politica e società industriale: ripensare Gramsci*, Turin, 1988, pp. 166–86.
- , 'Torino e il movimento operaio torinese. Il dibattito storiografico', in M. Antonioli, M. Bergamaschi and L. Ganapini (eds), *Milano operaia dall'800 a oggi*, vol. 2, Milan, 1994, pp. 375–95.
- Naim, T., 'Antonio su Gobbu', in A. Showstack Sassoon (ed.), *Approaches to Gramsci*, London, 1982.
- Nejrotti, M., 'Le prime esperienze politiche di Luigi Galleani (1881–1891)', in Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, *Anarchismo e anarchia nel mondo contemporanea*, Turin, 1971, pp. 208–16.
- , 'Correnti anarchiche e socialisti 1870–1888', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, vol. 1, *Dall'età preindustriale alla fine dell'Ottocento*, Bari, 1979, pp. 269–96.
- , 'La stampa operaia, e socialista (1848–1914)', in G. Agosti and M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, vol. 1, *Dall'età preindustriale alla fine dell'Ottocento*, Bari, 1979, vol. 1, pp. 375–445.
- Neppi-Modona, G., *Sciopero, potere politico e magistratura. 1870–1922*, Bari, 1972.
- Nettlau, M., *Errico Malatesta*, New York, 1922.
- Noiret, S., *Massimalismo e crisi dello stato liberale. Nicola Bombacci (1879–1924)*, Milan, 1991.
- Oliva, G., *Esercito, paese e movimento operaio. L'antimilitarismo dal 1861 all'età giolittiana*, Milan, 1986.
- Onufrio, S., *Sorel e il marxismo*, Urbino, 1979.
- Ortaggi Cammarosano, S., *Il prezzo del lavoro. Torino e l'industria italiana nel primo '900*, Turin, 1988.
- Ottaviano, C., 'La disciplina come utopia', in F. Sbarberi (ed.), *Teoria politica e società industriale: ripensare Gramsci*, Turin, 1988, pp. 198–208.
- Paggi, L., *Antonio Gramsci e il moderno principe*, Rome, 1970.
- , 'Gramsci's general theory of Marxism', in C. Mouffe (ed.), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London, 1979.
- , *Le strategie del potere in Gramsci*, Rome, 1984.
- Papayanis, N., *Alphonse Merrheim. The Emergence of Reformism in Revolutionary Syndicalism 1871–1925*, Dordrecht, 1985.
- Passerini, L., *Fascism in Popular Memory: the Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge, 1987, English translation) (Italian, *Torino operaio e fascismo*), Bari, 1984.

- Paulesu Quercioli, M. (ed.), *Gramsci vivo nelle testimonianze dei suoi contemporanei*, Milan, 1977.
- Pernicone, N., *Italian Anarchism 1864-1892*, Princeton, 1993.
- Pivato, S., 'L'associazione del tempo libero nella cultura socialista: i ciclisti rossi di Romagna', D. Mengozzi (ed.), *Gli uomini rossi di Romagna. Gli anni della fondazione del PSI (1892)*, Milan, 1994, pp. 287-92.
- Pogliano, C., 'Mondo accademico, intellettuali, professione sociale dall'Unità alla guerra mondiale', in A. Agosti and G. M. Bravo (eds), *Storia del movimento operaio del socialismo e delle lotte sociali in Piemonte*, vol. 1, *Dall'età preindustriale alla fine dell'Ottocento*, Bari, 1979, pp. 477-544.
- Procacci, G., *La lotta di classe agli inizi del secolo XX*, Rome, 1970.
- Rabinbach, A., *The Human Motor. Energy, Fatigue and the Origins of Modernity*, New York, 1990.
- Rama, C. M., 'Camillo Berneri e la rivoluzione spagnola', in Atti del Convegno di studio Camillo Berneri, *Biografie*, Carrara, 1979, pp. 61-88.
- Ravera, C., *Diario di trent'anni (1913-1943)*, Rome, 1972.
- Read, C., *Religion, Revolution and the Russian. Intelligentsia 1900-1912*, London, 1979.
- Reichers, C., *Antonio Gramsci. Il marxismo in Italia*, Naples, 1975.
- Ridolfi, M., *Il PSI e la nascita del partito di massa 1892-1922*, Bari, 1992.
- Riosa, A., *Il sindacalismo rivoluzionario in Italia*, Bari, 1976.
- , *Angelo Tasca socialista*, Venice, 1979.
- , *Il movimento operaio tra società e stato. Il caso italiano nell'epoca della II Internazionale*, Milan, 1984.
- Roberts, D. D., *The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism*, Chapel Hill, 1979.
- Robotti, D. and Gera, B., *Il tempo della solidarietà*, Milan, 1991.
- Romano, S. F., *Antonio Gramsci*, Turin, 1965.
- Romanò, A. (ed.), *La Voce 1908-1914*, Turin, 1960.
- Rosada, A., *Serratì nell'emigrazione 1899-1911*, Rome, 1972.
- Rosada, M. G., *Le università popolari*, Rome, 1975.
- Rossi, M., *Arditi, non gendarmi! Dall'arditismo di guerra agli arditi del popolo 1917-1922*, Pisa, 1997.
- Roth, J. J., *The Cult of Violence. Sorel and the Sorelians*, Berkeley, 1980.
- Rugafiori, P., *Uomini macchine capitale. L'Ansaldo durante il fascismo 1922/1945*, Milan, 1981.
- Sacchetti, G., 'Il sindacato ferrovieri italiani dalla "Settimana Rossa" alla Grande Guerra', in M. Antonioli, R. Bernardi and G. Checcozzo (eds),

- Il sindacato ferrovieri italiani dalle origini al fascismo 1907-1925*, Milan, 1994, pp. 153-212.
- , 'Il sindacato ferrovieri italiani durante il "Biennio Rosso"', in M. Antonioli, R. Bernardi and G. CheccoZZo (eds), *Il sindacato ferrovieri italiani dalle origini al fascismo 1907-1925*, Milan, 1994, pp. 213-92.
- Salvadori, M. L., *Il movimento cattolico a Torino (1911-15)*, Turin, 1969.
- , *Gramsci e il problema storico della democrazia*, Turin, 1970.
- Santarelli, E., *La revisione del marxismo in Italia*, Milan, 1964.
- , *Il socialismo anarchico in Italia*, Milan, 1973 edition.
- Santhià, B., *Con Gramsci all'Ordine Nuovo*, Rome, 1956.
- Santucci, A. A., *Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937)*, Rome, 1987.
- Sapelli, G. (ed.), *Il movimento cooperativo in Italia*, Turin, 1981.
- Sbarberi, F., *Gramsci: un socialismo armonico*, Milan, 1986.
- (ed.), *Teoria politica e società industriale: ripensare Gramsci*, Turin, 1988.
- Schechter, D., *Gramsci and the Theory of Industrial Democracy*, Aldershot, 1991.
- Scherrer, J., 'Bogdanov e Lenin: il bolscevismo al bivio', in E. J. Hobsbawm, *Storia del marxismo*, vol. 2, Turin, 1979, pp. 495-546.
- Seidman, M., *Workers Against Work: Labor in Paris and Barcelona during the Popular Fronts*, Berkeley, 1991.
- Showstack Sassoon, A., *Gramsci's Politics*, London, 1980.
- (ed.), *Approaches to Gramsci*, London, 1982.
- Sirianni, C., *Workers' Control and Socialist Democracy. The Soviet Experience*, London, 1982.
- Soldoni, F., *La struttura del dominio nel sindacalismo rivoluzionario e nel giovane Gramsci*, Milan, 1985.
- Soresina, M., *Mezzemaniche e signorine*, Milan, 1994.
- Spriano, P. (ed.), *La cultura italiana del 1900 attraverso le riviste, volume sesto. L'Ordine Nuovo (1919-1920)*, Turin, 1963.
- , *The Occupation of the Factories: Italy 1920*, London, 1975, (English translation of *L'occupazione delle fabbriche*) (Turin, 1964).
- , *Storia del Partito Comunista Italiano*, Turin, vol. 1, 1967, vol. 4, 1973; vol. 5, 1975.
- , *L'Ordine nuovo e i consigli di fabbrica*, Turin, 1971.
- , *Storia di Torino operaio e socialista*, Turin, 1972.
- , *Gramsci in carcere e il partito*, Rome, 1977.
- , *Stalin and the European Communists*, London, 1985.
- Suppa, S., *Il primo Gramsci. Gli scritti politici giovanili (1914-1918)*, Naples, 1976.

- Tamborra, A., *Esuli russi in Italia dal 1905 al 1917*, Bari, 1977.
- Tasca, A., *Nascita e avvento del fascismo*, Florence, 1950, (English translation as A. Rossi, *The Rise of Italian Fascism* (London, 1938)).
- Terracini, U., *Intervista sul comunismo difficile*, Bari, 1978.
- Thorpe, W., *'The Workers Themselves'. Revolutionary Syndicalism and International Labor, 1913–1923*, Amsterdam, 1989.
- Timparano, S., *Il socialismo di educato*, Verona, 1983.
- Tinghiano, J.J., *Edmondo Rossoni from Revolutionary Syndicalism to Fascism*, New York, 1991.
- Togliatti, P., *Opere*, edited by E. Ragionieri, vol. 3, pt. 2, Rome, 1973.
- Tucker, K. H., *Revolutionary Syndicalism and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, 1996.
- Turi, G., 'Intellettuali e propaganda nel movimento socialista', in S. Soldani and G. Turi (eds), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea. La nascita dello Stato nazionale*, vol. 1, Bologna, 1993, pp. 459–501.
- , *Giovanni Gentile: Una biografia*, Florence, 1995.
- Istituto Storico della Resistenza Toscana, *Giustizia e Libertà nella lotta antifascista e nella storia d'Italia*, Florence, 1977.
- Venturi, A., *Rivoluzionari russi in Italia 1917–1921*, Milan, 1979.
- Venza, C., *Tra rivoluzione e guerra. Libertari italiani nella Spagna degli anni Trenta*, Milan, 1997.
- Vivarelli, R., *Storia delle origini del fascismo. L'Italia dalla grande guerra alla marcia su Roma*, volumes 1 and 2, Bologna, 1991.
- Urbinati, N., 'The Souths of Antonio Gramsci and the Concept of Hegemony', in J. Schneider (ed.), *Italy's 'Southern Question': Orientalism in One Country*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 135–56.
- Williams, G., *Proletarian Order*, London, 1975.
- Williams, R. C., *The Other Bolsheviks. Lenin and his Critics 1904–1919*, Bloomington, 1986.
- Willson, P. R., *The Clockwork Factory. Women and Work in Fascist Italy*, Oxford, 1993.
- Wolf, S., *A History of Italy 1700–1860*, London, 1979.
- Zagarra, E., *Marxismo e revisionismo. Bernstein Sorel Graziadei Leone*, Naples, 1975.
- Zamagni, V., *The Economic History of Italy 1860–1990. Recovery after Decline*, Oxford, 1993.
- Zappi, E. G., *Il Eight Hours Seems too Few. Mobilization of Women Workers in the Italian Rice Fields*, Albany, 1991.

Index

- ACT, *see* Alleanza Cooperativa Torinese
- Acutis, Anselmo 41, 88, 140
- Agitation Committee, *see* Committee of Agitation
- Agnelli, Giovanni 25, 28, 94, 191–2, 224, 226
- Agnelli, Oduardo *see* Luigi Fabbri
- AGO, *see* Associazione Generale degli Operai
- Agosti, Aldo 229
- Albania 120, 164
- Alessandria 19
- Alleanza Cooperativa Torinese (ACT) 22, 49, 70
- anarchism, character of Italian 4; class basis of 192–5; geography of 7; government reaction against 6, 7, 20, 23; Gramsci's aversion towards 13; growth (1910–14) 36–43; influence on Gramsci 4; Labriola's views on 69; syndicalist influence on 9, 11–13; scientific 43; Torinese 19–52, 224–30
- anarchists, in *Barriera di Milano* 33, 39–40; individualist 9, 40–1, 67; Malatesta 9, 40; numbers 9, 23, 123, 164; organizations 124–8; proletarian 69; relations with socialists 160–1; relations with syndicalists 163; repression of 6, 7, 20, 23, 223; Stirnerites 9; Torinese 82–4, 119–66, 141–2
- Ancona 9, 51, 120, 121
- Angell, Norman 73
- anti-clericalism 11, 30, 36
- anti-interventionism 80–1, 84
- anti-Jacobinism 68, 177, 197–206
- anti-militarism 11, 35, 36, 50
- Anti-Militarist International 31
- anti-statism 4, 68, 73–4; 'Second Culture' (1900–14) 6–13
- April Manifesto 87
- Apulia 11, 77, 101, 224
- Arditi del Popolo 129, 139, 222, 225, 228
- Artesani, Carlo 135
- Association of Culture 99, 100
- Associazione Anarchica Piemontese 36
- Associazione Generale degli Operai (AGO) 22, 23, 28, 81, 89, 124
- A Storm!* 126, 128
- automobile industry 24–5, 33
- Avanti!* 10, 32, 67, 82, 83, 88, 131, 134, 139, 142, 152, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 202, 205
- Bakunin, Mikhail 197, 230
- Barattero, Giuseppe 88
- Barberis, Francesco 44, 84, 154
- Barbieri, Valentino 180
- Barriera di Lanzo 24, 91
- Barriera di Milano 24, 32–4, 36, 37, 39, 44, 47, 52, 82, 98, 123, 154, 158
- Barriera di Nizza 39
- Barriera di Orbassano 89
- Bartalini, Ezio 100
- Bartoli, Umberto 69
- Berneri, Camillo 141, 179, 192, 196, 222, 229
- Bernstein, Eduard 74
- Berta, Giuseppe 189
- Bertoni, Luigi 88, 89
- Beruti, Carlo 81, 225, 226
- Bevione, Giuseppe 51
- Bianco, Vincenzo 43, 95
- Biella 19, 20
- biennio rosso* (Red Biennium, 1919–20) 4, 9, 12, 13, 20, 24, 69, 77, 95, 119–66, 194, 195, 199, 203, 221, 224
- Binazzi, Pasquale 125
- bloccardismo* 46, 101
- blocchi rossi* 31, 32

- Boccardo, Carlo 97
 Boero, Giovanni 81, 132, 139, 145, 146,
 148, 157, 160, 162, 164
 Bolshevik Revolution, *see* Russian
 Revolution
 Bolzanetto 86
 Bonaglia, Vincenzo 92
 Bordini, Amadeo 65, 205, 225
 Borghi, Armando 103, 141, 223
 Borghi, Luigi 147, 222
 Borgo Dora 89
 Borgo San Paolo 24, 32, 33–6, 37, 39, 44,
 52, 83, 89, 91, 92
 Borgo Vittoria 52, 85, 90
horvax du travail 37
braccianti, 6
 Bray, Paul Nursey 181
 Brest-Litovsk Treaty 204
 British trade unions 135–7
 Brody, Marcel 204
 Brogi, Vittorio 129
 Buozzi, Bruno 44–5, 49, 50, 80, 85, 86,
 90, 94, 131–3, 140, 161

 Cafiero, Carlo 11, 35
 Candeloro, Giorgio 5
Capital 11
 capitalism 2, 75–6
 Caporetto 67, 94
 Carcere Nuove 158
 Carena, Attilio 97, 179, 180
 Carretto, Giorgio 96
 Casa del Popolo 44
 Casati Law 102
 Castagno, Gino 45, 50, 187
 Catholics 84, 95, 119
 Cavourian liberalism 19, 21
 CGL, *see* Confederazione Generale del
 Lavoro 6
 Chamber of Labour 11, 20, 22, 29, 31, 52,
 81, 89, 123, 139, 154, 156, 158, 159,
 162, 226
 Chemical and Tyre Workers' Union 146
 Christianity 22
 Ciccotti, Francesco 84
 Cipriani, Amilcare 81
circuiti di studi sociali 24, 31, 34
 Circolo di Studi Sociali Francesco Ferrer,
see Ferrer Circle

 Clark, Martin 78, 134, 145, 158
 closed shop 31
 Club of Moral Life 95, 97–9, 141, 179
 Colombino, Emilio 45, 85, 94, 130, 148
 Comintern 203, 204, 228
 Commission on Postwar Reconstruction
 73
 Committee of Agitation 158–9
 Committee of International Anarchist
 Action 88
 Committee of Proletarian Unity 146
 Committee of Study 145, 152, 163
 Communist Education Group 165
Communist Manifesto, *The* 11, 98
 Communist Party, *see* Italian Communist
 Party
 Concordia, Tommaso 33
 Confederazione Generale del Lavoro
 (CGL) 6, 9, 10, 90, 119, 131, 138, 163,
 206, 221
consorzio 46
 cooperatives 70–6
 Corradetti, Gino 63
 Corridoni, Filippo 10, 12, 35, 36
 Cosmo, Umberto 100
 Crispi, Francesco 20, 23, 199
 'critical communism' 182, 196
Critica Sociale 1
 Croce, Benedetto 64, 65, 100, 182, 198,
 228
Cronaca Sovversiva 88, 125–8

 Damiani, Gigi 165
 D'Annunzio, Gabriele 120, 141
 Darwin, Charles 38, 45
 Davidson, Alastair 201
dazio the 24
 De Amicis, Edmondo 21, 22, 45
 De Bartolomeis, Nono 42, 43, 124, 125,
 138, 142, 147, 162
 Deffenu, Attilio 63
 Degot, Vladimir Alexankrovic 204
 De Luisi, Giuseppe 124–5, 128, 228
 De Sanctis, Francesco 75
 deskilling 78
destra storica 68
 Di Vittorio, Giuseppe 228

 Einaudi, Luigi 9, 22

- electrification 24
 Emilia Romagna 11
 Engels, Friedrich 11
 'English Saturday', *see sabato inglese*
 Enlightenment 75
 Esperanto 100
- Fabbri, Luigi (Oduardo Agnelli) 31, 38,
 43, 87, 103, 125, 141, 160, 161, 165,
 192, 193, 195, 196, 207, 222, 223, 225,
 227, 230
 Fabian Society 99
 factory councils 13, 130-5, 142, 144-56,
 158, 161, 179, 180, 185-7, 207
 Faggi, Angelo 153
 Fancello, Nicolò 63
fasci giovanili 44, 83
 Fascio d'Azione Rivoluzionaria 139
 Fascio Libertario 36, 41, 82, 83, 84, 88,
 140, 155
fasci operai 195
 Fascio Rivoluzionario 137
 Fascio Sindacale d'Azione Diretta 129,
 135
 Fascio Sindacale d'Azione Rivoluzionaria
 138, 139
 Fasci Siciliani 10, 69
 fascism, 10, 123
 fascists 221
fatti, see riots
Fede! 227
 Fedeli, Ugo 222
 Federazione Giovanile Socialista (FGS)
 32, 35, 65
 Federazione Italiana Operai Metallurgici
 (FIOM) 9, 30, 31, 44-9, 79, 80, 82, 86,
 88, 92, 119, 123, 129, 130-7, 140,
 145-50, 157, 158, 162, 193, 221, 225
 Ferrer Circle (Circolo di Studi Sociali
 Francisco Ferrer) 37-43, 47, 48, 49, 51,
 52, 82, 83, 89, 92, 99, 100, 124
 Ferrer, Francisco 30, 36, 185
 Ferrero, Emma ('Amaryllis') 125, 142,
 228
 Ferrero, Pietro 42, 47, 50, 92, 124, 125,
 146, 150, 157, 159, 162, 163, 194, 197,
 221, 224-7
 Ferri, Enrico 67
 Feuerbach, Ludwig 197
- FGS, *see* Federazione Giovanile Socialista
 Fiat 78
 FIOM, *see* Federazione Italiana Operai
 Metallurgici
 First International (1870-80) 5-6, 230
 First World War 4, 5-6, 9, 10, 11, 77, 82,
 96
fiscalismo 5
 free thought 101-2
 free trade 72-3
 futurism 179
 futurists 178
- Galleani, Luigi 20, 33, 48, 125-8
 Garin, Eugenio 69
 Garinei, Italo 42, 43, 153, 228
 Garino, Maurizio 30, 33, 39, 41-2, 47-52,
 82-3, 85-6, 92, 94, 124-5, 130-2, 134,
 140, 142, 146, 148, 150-1, 157-9, 162,
 188-9, 191, 194, 197, 207-8, 221, 224,
 226, 228
 Garosci, Aldo 192, 230
Gazzetta Operaria 19-20
 General Confederation of Industry 156
 'generation of 1910' 43-6, 79
 Genoese hinterland 9
 Gentile, Giovanni 64, 66, 182
Germinal 128
 Ghezzi, Francesco 229
 Gioda, Mario 23, 67, 82, 226
 Giolitti, Giovanni 6, 9, 25, 28, 191, 221
 Giovannetti, Alibrando 152
 Gobetti, Piero 179, 230
 Gori, Pietro 11, 35
 Grieco, Ruggiero 228
 Gramsci, Antonio, anti-Jacobinism 68,
 197-206; anti-statism 68, 73-4;
 Antonio Labriola and 68-9; attraction
 to English liberalism 73; authori-
 tarianism of 198; Club of Moral Life
 95, 97-9, 141, 179; contradictions in
 199; criticisms of 64, 82, 103; early
 influences on 63-6, 74; health 66;
 isolation of 163-4; journalism 66-8;
L'Ordine Nuovo and 135-8, 140-55;
 Marxism of 13, 64-5, 68, 76, 196, 203;
ordinovisti and 141-55; origins of
 council communism and 70-6;
 productivism of 71-2, 177-92;

- Sardinian origins 63; Second Internationalist socialism and 2; socialism of 2-4, 63-4, 71-2; Socratic method 66, 82; Torinese working class and 94-7; Turati and 3; views on agrarian policy 3; views on anarchism 4, 13, 155, 196; views on capitalism 2, 75-6; views on Esperanto 100; views on free trade 72-3; views on hegemony 69, 181; views on Italy 1; views on Lenin 200-7; views on liberalism 155; views on positivism 181-2; views on science 182-3, 195-7; views on small shopkeepers 70-1; views on socialist state 136, 166; views on 'subversive' socialism 3; views on syndicalism 11-13, 63; views on Taylorism 178; 'workerism' of 3, 12; working-class education and 99-102
- Gruppo Anarchico Longotto 124
- Gruppo Barriera di Milano 39-40, 89, 124, 128
- Gruppo Barriera di Nizza 124
- Gruppo Borgo San Donato 124
- Gruppo Borgo San Paolo 124
- Gruppo Centro 124
- Gruppo di Religiosi 84
- Gruppo Germinal 124
- Gruppo Martiri di Chicago 124
- Gruppo San Campodoglio 124
- Gruppo Vanghiglia 124
- Gruppo Vindice 124
- Gruppo Vittoria 124
- Guarnieri, Gino 147, 157
- Guarnieri, Mario 45, 138, 148, 206
- Guasco, Michele 86
- Guerra di Classe* 103, 132, 152, 153, 230
- Guidice, Maria 82, 84
- Giustizia e Libertà 228, 230
- hegemony 69, 181
- Hervé, Gustav 31, 35
- Il Grido del Popolo* 28, 67, 72, 82, 95, 96, 98, 135, 140, 141, 201
- Il Grido Proletario* 31, 35
- Il Libertario* 125
- Il Muratore* 19
- Il Panettiere Italiano* 19
- Il Proletario* 125
- Il Risveglio* 88, 89
- Il Viandante* 64
- industrialization 24, 30
- individualists 9, 40-1, 67
- Industrialists' League 156
- Industrial Mobilization 78, 79, 80, 86, 132
- Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) 84, 128, 153
- inflation 24, 77, 119-20
- integral education 185
- internal commissions 133-5, 138, 144, 147, 150, 157, 158
- International Committee 89
- Internationalist risings 19
- Italian Communist Party 35, 92
- Italian International 5
- Italian Socialist Party (PSI) 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 20-3, 34, 44, 64, 65, 99, 102, 103, 119, 121, 131, 160, 199, 221; in Turin 25-8, 80-2, 139, 145, 152, 158-9, 163-5
- IWW, see Industrial Workers of the World 153
- Jacchia, Arturo 193
- Jacobinism 69, 197-206; see also anti-Jacobinism
- Kapp putsch 123
- Kronstadt Revolt 225
- Kropotkin, Peter 13, 35, 43, 180, 181, 185, 196, 197, 225
- Labour Alliance 222, 225
- labour organizations, Torinese 28
- Labriola, Antonio 12, 13, 67, 68-9, 74, 76, 181-2
- Labriola, Arturo 12, 13, 65, 67, 195
- La Città Futura* 99
- La Croix, Hughes 187-8
- La Difesa* 132
- La Fede* 33
- La Guerra Sociale* 31, 41
- L'Alba Anarchica* 125
- L'Alleanza Cooperativa* 71
- La Mondiale 103
- La Pace* 100
- La Scuola Moderna* 38

- La Società Filodrammatica Edera 83
La Squilla 50, 132
La Spezia 121
La Stampa 51
 Lavagnini, Spartaco 103
L'Avanguardia 97, 99, 142
La Voce 64, 178, 199
Lavoratori Avanti! 158
L'Avvenire Anarchico 41, 88, 132, 151
 Lega di Lavoro 49
 Leghorn 9
 Lelli, Luigi 82, 139
 Lenin, V.I. 76, 162, 177, 178, 199, 200–5,
 207, 222, 227
 Leninism 140
 Leone, Enrico 12, 13, 31, 195, 202
 Leonetti, Alfonso 101, 142, 144, 154–5,
 160, 193, 227
 liberalism 12, 28, 63
 liberals 22, 73
 libertarianism 6, 11, 36, 37, 38, 39, 46,
 50, 101, 123, 130–5, 155, 159, 162,
 164, 200, 206, 221, 224
Liberator 135
 Libyan War 8, 23, 28, 32, 36, 46, 50
 Ljubarsky, Nicolai Markovic ('Nicolini')
 205, 206
 localism 11
 Lombroso, Cesare 22
 Longo, Luigi 229
 Lo Piparo, Francesco 100
L'Ordine 20, 23
L'Ordine Nuovo 68, 96, 98, 121, 130,
 135–8, 140–55, 179–80, 183, 184, 186,
 188–9, 191, 192, 193–4, 195–6, 201,
 202, 203, 204, 208, 224, 225, 226
 Loria, Achille 22
Lo Stato Operaio 92
 Lucetti, Gino 223
 Lukács, György 182–3
L'Umanità Nuova 121, 142, 160, 197
L'Unità 178, 199, 227
L'Università Popolare (publication) 101;
 see also Università Popolare (institution)
L'Utopia 67
 Maione, Giuseppe 134, 151, 152, 178
 Mairone, Antonio 92
 Makhno, Nestor 142
 Malatesta, Errico 5, 11, 20, 43, 46, 51, 69,
 81, 86, 87, 103, 120, 121, 123, 126,
 127, 153, 154, 160, 164, 165, 180, 181,
 194, 196, 207, 222, 223, 224, 227, 228,
 229, 230
 Malatestan anarchists 9, 13, 40, 124–5
 Malato, Charles 31
 Marches, the 7
 Margarita, Ilario 41, 83, 84, 124, 125,
 126, 139, 140, 151–2, 154, 155, 224,
 228
 Marione, Antonio 128, 228
 Marxism, and libertarian socialism 142,
 206; as 'scientific' socialism 195–7;
 Mosso on 183, 197; of Gramsci 13,
 64–5, 68, 76, 182–3; of Antonio
 Labriola 68–9
 Marxist dialectic 3, 195
 Marx, Karl 1, 11, 35, 63, 197
 Masetti, Augusto 51
 Massa, Giuseppe 41–2
 Massa-Carrara 9
 Motta, Enea 144–6, 152, 187
 Matteotti crisis 223
 May Day demonstrations (1916) 97
 Mazzini, Giuseppe 10
 Merlino, Saverio 20, 74
 Mesnil, Jacques 229
 Michel, Louise 35
 Michels, Robert 31, 99
 migration 78
 Minigrucci, Umberto 92
 Misiano, Francesco 89
 Mobello, Mario 41
 Modern School 37
 Modugno, Nicola 129
 Molinari, Luigi 37, 101, 102, 181
 Mombelli Giuseppe 83
 Mombello, Mario 86, 139
 Montagnana, Mario 35, 44, 82, 85, 91,
 147, 148
 Monticelli, Tommaso 89
 Morgari, Oddino 21, 22, 23, 28, 30, 31,
 32, 36, 45, 204
 Moschelli, Paolo 44
 Mosso, Pietro Carlo (Carlo Petri) 42, 43,
 69, 125, 142, 178–90, 194, 196, 197,
 207, 208, 228
 Mosso plan 186

- Musso, Guglielmo 128–9, 189
 Mussolini, Benito 31, 32, 66–7, 82,
 122–3, 125–6, 181, 202, 222, 223, 226,
 228, 229, 230
- Nanni, Torquato 31, 67
 Nettlau, Max 194
 New Order 137
 ‘Nicolini’, see Ljubarsky, Nicolai
 Markovic
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 39
 Nitti, Francesco 22, 203
 Nofri, Quirino 21, 22
noyau 66
- Oberi, Antonio 44
 Olivetti, Gino 156, 159
operatismo, see workerism
ordinovisti 94, 120–1, 123, 141–55, 163,
 164, 194, 195, 202, 203, 206, 208, 225
 Orlando, Vittore Emanuele 73
- pacifism 87, 121
 Pact of Alliance 136, 145, 159
 Pagella, Vincenzo 44, 139
 Paggi, Leonardo 201
 Palmer Raids 128
 Pankhurst, Sylvia 139
 Paretian socialism 9
 Pareto, Vilfredo 9, 12
 Paris Commune 19
 Parodi, Giovanni 44, 95, 227
 Partito d’Azione 230
 Partito Operaio Italiano (POI) 5, 10, 19,
 20, 21, 44, 195
 Partito Socialista, see Italian Socialist
 Party
 Pastore, Annibale 43, 69, 179, 181, 182,
 183
 Pastore, Ottavio 44, 132, 148, 161
 Piombino 9
 Plebs Leagues 37
 POI, see Partito Operaio Italiano
 political clubs 34–5
 Polledro, Alfredo 31, 65, 67
Popolo d’Italia 223
 Porta Mosso 90
 Porta Palazzo 90
 positivism 21, 22, 39, 45, 64, 181–2
- Po Valley, labourers 10, 77; peasants 24;
 strikes 6
 Prato, Francesco 226
Pravda 203
 praxis 182
 prefiguration 76
 press, distribution of anarchist 8
 productivism 71, 130, 141, 177–209
 professional revolutionaries 201, 202
 Proletcult 185
 proto-syndicalism 20
Proximux Tuis 19–20
 PSI, see Italian Socialist Party
- Qualgino, Corrado 84, 125, 142, 194,
 207, 222
 quality control 188
- Rabbezzana, Pietro 81, 83, 84
 Radice, Giuseppe Lombardo 66, 97, 98
 Raineri, Pietro Giuseppe 126
 Rapisardi, Mario 35
 Rappoport, Charles 201, 202
 Ravera, Camilla 35
 ‘red cyclist’ tours 36, 44
 Red Guards 129, 138, 139
 Red Week (*settimana rossa*) 9, 11, 36, 46,
 50–2, 65, 81, 120, 161, 165, 194
 ‘reform from above’ 73
 repression, of 1870s 6; of 1890s 6, 7, 20,
 23
 republicanism 11
 revolt, of 1874
 Revolutionary Socialist Party of the
 Romagna 10
 Riedel, Daniel 204, 205
Riforma Sociale 22
 ‘rigids’ 81, 82, 103
 Rigola, Ronaldo 89
 riots, ‘cost-of-living’ riots of 1919 120,
 121, 139; Milanese (1898) (*Fatti di
 Maggio*) 23; of 1869 5; of 1912 52; of
 1917 67, 77, 84–94; peasantry and 3
Risorgimento, the 1, 2, 11, 12, 19, 68
 Robotti, Paolo 35
 Rocca, Massimo (Libero Tancredi) 23, 35,
 36, 82
 Rome 7, 9
 Romita, Giuseppe 36, 45, 95

- Rosselli, Carlo 229–30
 Rubino, Giuseppe 124, 126, 129
 Russia 164, 198; *see also* Russian Revolution
 Russian Revolution (Bolshevik Revolution) 87, 102, 104, 142, 144, 177, 199, 206
 Rygier, Maria 35
- sabato inglese* ('English Saturday') 46, 48, 134
 Safarov, G.I. 200
 Saint Monday 30, 187
 Salvemini, Gaetano 1, 2, 72, 141, 198, 199, 230
 'Sanculotto' 125, 160
 Sandomirsky, Helmut 227
 San Giorgio 87
 San Paolo, *see* Borgo San Paolo
 Santhiá, Battista 34, 35, 44, 92, 191
 Sardinia 63
 Satta, Sebastiano 63
 Savigliano 85
 Savona 121
 Schiavina, Raffaele 126, 128, 228
 Schiru, Michele 228
 schism 74
 School of Proletarian Culture 186
 science 182–3
 scientific anarchism 43
 'Second Culture' 4, 6–13
 'second generation' socialists 32–4
 Second International 2, 4, 19, 68, 77
senso buono 3
senso comune 3
 Serge, Victor 225, 229
 Sestri Ponente 85, 86, 127, 153, 161, 193–4
settimana rossa, *see* Red Week
 sex education 39
 SFI, *see* Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani
 Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani (SFI) 9, 89, 94, 120
 Sindacato Metallurgico 48, 85, 134
 Sindacato Tecnica 180
 Sindacato Unico 129, 132, 150, 159
 shop floor control 12
 Soave, Emilio 138
 Sobrito, Cesare 41, 88, 124, 125, 132
 Social Democratic Party (SPD) (German) 10, 11
 socialism 2; as science 195–7; Paretian 9
socialismo dei professori 21
 Socialist League 10
 social *risorgimento* 5; *see also* *Risorgimento*
 Sokolovskaia, Sofia Ivanovna 204
 Sorel, Georges 13, 74, 100, 178, 198
sovversivismo 3, 11, 31, 32
 Spanish Civil War 228
 Spartacists 140
spostati della borghesia 69
 Spriano, Paolo 47, 80
 Stakhanovism 188
 Stirner, Max (Johann Schmidt) 39, 197
 Stirnerites 9
 strikes, car workers' (1912) 36, 46–50, 65, 156; 'clockhands' (1920) 128, 156–66; cotton workers' (1906) 24; gas worker's (1902) 24; modelmakers' (1919) 134; of 1872–3 5; of 1900–10 29–30; of Giolittian era 11; wartime 78, 81, 90
 Study Committee for Proletarian Unity 132, 138, 153
 suffrage 11
 syndicalist productivism 12
 syndicalism 6–13, 30–2, 142, 163, 228
 syndicalists 6–13, 30–2, 40, 119–24, 129, 159, 160, 163
- Tancredi, Libero, *see* Rocca, Massimo
 Tasca, Angelo 65, 66, 67, 140, 141, 142, 144, 146, 162, 163, 164, 195, 196, 197, 205, 228, 229
 Taylorism 28, 79, 177–8, 181, 183–6, 188–9
teppa rossa 32
 Terracini, Umberto 65, 141, 148, 160, 162, 164
 Terrini, Arturo 43
 terrorism 20–1, 69, 128–9
 Third International 103, 153, 162
 Togliatti, Palmiro 65, 82, 141, 142, 144, 146, 155, 160, 166, 193, 194, 202, 207, 223, 228, 229
tollerance 46, 47, 48, 50, 134, 156
 Tresca, Carlo 84, 87–8, 103, 227, 229

- Trotsky, Leon 204, 205, 229
 Trozzi, Mario 103
 Turati, Filippo 1, 2, 3-4, 30
 Turin 19-52, 70, 78, 79, 80-97, 99, 119-66, 189-90, 192, 224-30
 Tuscany 7, 11, 224
Twenty-One Points 199, 200

 UAI, *see* Unione Anarchica Italiana
 UCAP, *see* Unione Comunista Anarchica Piemontese
Umanità Nova 125, 126, 156, 160, 162, 192, 208
 Umbria 7
 Unione Anarchica Italiana (UAI) 119, 126, 127, 151, 159, 221
 Unione Comunista Anarchica Piemontese (UCAP) 123, 124
 Unione Comunista Anarchica Torinese (UCAT) 124
 Unione Sindacale Italiana (USI) 6, 9, 10, 66, 79, 84, 85, 92, 119, 120, 126, 129, 138, 142, 148, 153, 159, 193, 194, 221, 223, 224, 225
 Unione Sindacale Torinese (UST) 129
 Union for Democratic Control 73
 united fronts 138-40
 Università Popolare (institution) 37, 99, 100; *see also* *L'Università Popolare* (publication)
 University of Turin 63
 USI, *see* Unione Sindacale Italiana
 UST, *see* Unione Sindacale Torinese

 Valera, Paolo 35
 Vandervelde, Emile 208
 Vecchi, Nicola 152, 225
 Venturi, Franco 230
 Vidali, Vittorio 229
 Viglono, Andrea 95, 97, 98, 142, 148, 152, 153, 164-5, 193, 194
 Vittori, Giovanni 88
Vogliamo 31
Volontà 51, 125, 142, 147

 wage parity 12
 Weber, Max 182, 183, 197
 Weiss, Franz 202
 Wizner, Aaron 135, 203
 women 79, 82, 96-7
 workerism (*operalsmo*) 3, 19
Workers' Dreadnought 139
 working-class education 99-102
 workshop commissars 148, 151-2, 157, 158, 188

 Young Socialists 44

 Zamboni, Anteo 223
 Zavatiero, Domenico 23, 24, 38
 Zimmerwald Movement 87
 Zinoviev, Grigori 202
 Zocca, Elvira 82, 84